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ABSTRACT

The Laboratory was established as a public nonprofit organization in 1966 under a Joint Powers Agreement. The Laboratory has five major development divisions, each of which is responsible for different areas of educational research and development. Division IV identifies and investigates problems relating to home-school linkage. This position paper was initiated by Division IV in January of 1973 at the recommendation of a special panel of the National Institute of Education. The goals for this position paper were: (1) to expose the reader to the assessment of educational research in our problem area; (2) to help to clarify a set of complex problems associated with interactions of low-income, urban black children and their teachers; and (3) to identify research areas in which more research is needed. Our immediate purpose was to provide a base from which to identify a target area for further research and study. The position paper is organized by sections. Section 1 includes a set of discussions of the boundaries of the larger problem area. The next section (section 2) is composed of material associated with the delimited problem area and our intellectual framework. Section 3 includes reviews of the literature; and summaries, conclusions, and recommendations. These sections are followed by a bibliography and a set of appendixes. The paper's form is circular in that the sections can be read in any order depending on the user's purposes. (Author/JM)

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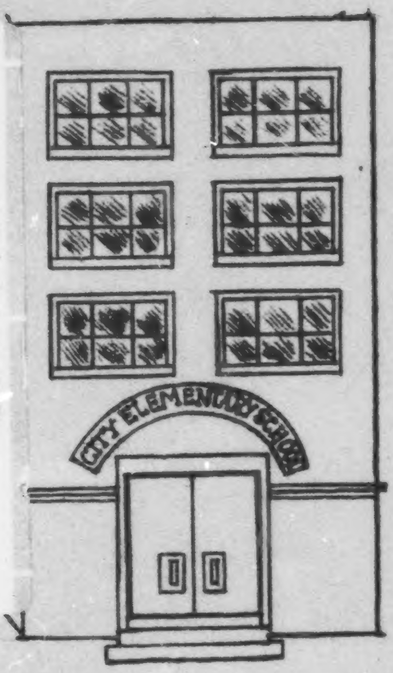
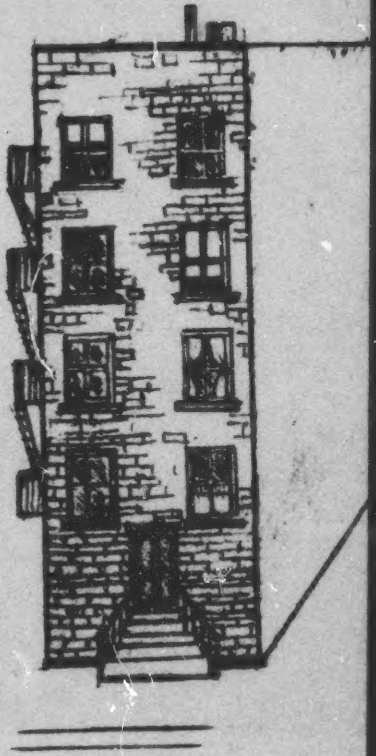
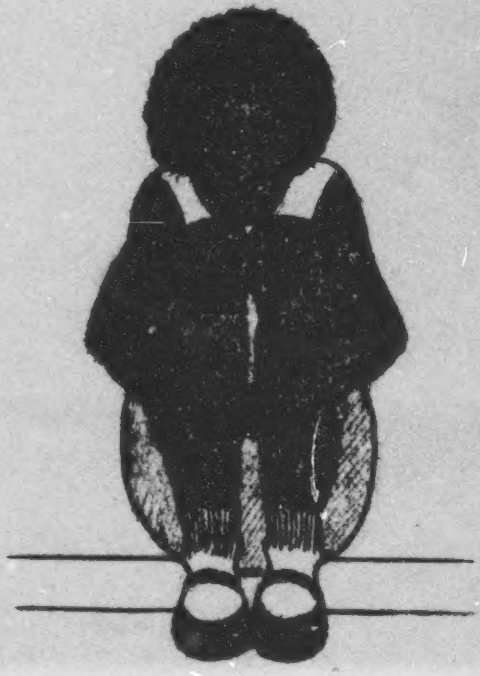


ON THE INTERFACE
BETWEEN LOW-INCOME, URBAN BLACK CHILDREN AND THEIR TEACHERS DURING THE EARLY SCHOOL YEARS

A POSITION PAPER

November 1973





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FAR WEST LABORATORY FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
1855 Folsom St., San Francisco, California 94103

ON THE INTERFACE
BETWEEN
LOW-INCOME, URBAN BLACK CHILDREN
AND THEIR TEACHERS
DURING THE EARLY SCHOOL YEARS

A POSITION PAPER

THE FAR WEST LABORATORY FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT is a non-profit public organization supported in part by funds from the National Institute for Education, United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The opinions expressed in this document do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the National Institute of Education should be inferred.

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ON THE INTERFACE BETWEEN LOW-INCOME, URBAN BLACK CHILDREN AND THEIR TEACHERS DURING THE EARLY SCHOOL YEARS

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Many talented and creative people contributed to the development of this position paper. Some of them have already been acknowledged. Here we wish to acknowledge our debt and express our appreciation to others whose contributions during the planning, conceptualization, writing, and production of this paper were critical. William Duff, James Shaver, and Gerald Zaltman made valuable contributions in many areas, especially in the areas of planning and design. Carolyn Bins, David Williams, Ronnie Ridgle, Nancy Lou Stein, Karen Edwards, Linda Sikorski, and Barbara Ivory Williams each made valuable intellectual contributions. Elizabeth Cohen, Tanya Russell, and Joseph White were especially helpful in providing needed criticism at crucial points in development. Jessica Daniels, Stephanie Feeney, James MacDonald and Asahel Woodruff were instrumental in forming the conceptual scheme. Of equal importance was the management of the production of this paper. Here we are heavily indebted to Clara Leggett, who literally shouldered the responsibility for bringing diverse elements of this paper together, and to Josie Diaz de Leon and Diana Jackson who assisted her with these various tasks. We particularly appreciate the guidance and leadership of John Hemphill.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

Sec. 405. (a) (1) The Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide to every person an equal opportunity to receive an education of high quality regardless of his race [sic], color, religion, sex, national origin, or social class. Although the American educational system has pursued this objective, it has not yet attained that objective. Inequalities of opportunity to receive high quality education remain pronounced. To achieve quality will require far more dependable knowledge about the processes of learning and education than now exists or can be expected from present research and experimentation in this field.

Education Amendments of 1972
92nd Congress Report
2nd Session No. 92-798
May 22, 1972

The education of this nation's children is of overwhelming importance. In American society, an education is essential to the enjoyment and fulfillment of both economic and political rights. Without an education, an individual is confronted with almost insurmountable barriers in seeking not only an adequate livelihood, but also self-respect. 'In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life, if he is denied the opportunity of an education,' (Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 43, 483, 493; 1954). Both the United States District Court and the School District have clearly recognized the existence of these rights to an education and equal educational opportunities, (Order, pp. 2-3, Record, pp. 419-420).

Yet, a child's right to an education is not satisfied by merely permitting him to physically pass through school doors and attend classes. Instead, the right to an education further requires that the student be able to benefit from the educational curriculum offered him. Unless emphasis is placed upon learning and not mere attendance, these rights to an education and equal educational opportunities are rendered meaningless. To provide identical facilities and uniform programs which educate some students but are of no educational benefit to others, denies this latter group their fundamental rights.

Lau vs. Nichols
C-70 627

FOREWORD

This position paper results from the efforts of a staff committed to finding solutions to problems associated with the education of low-income, urban Black children. This is both a multi-disciplinary and a multi-ethnic staff. Each person approached the problem from a unique perspective. Undoubtedly these perspectives were highly influenced by training, experience, ethnicity and sex. Yet the one overriding rule governing this effort was that our mission was more important than any differences-- professional or personal-- that may have existed.

Because we differed by sex, ethnicity, training and experience, we often found ourselves enmeshed in mismatch. Our task was rendered more complex by the basic nature of our topic. Various combinations of staff spent long hours discussing such themes as equal access to education, cultural pluralism, political pluralism, competing socialization processes, cultural conflict, and teacher expectations. This process facilitated work on the position paper. It also resulted in growth for each member of the staff.

Notwithstanding the burdens, benefits and outcomes of such a process, questions associated with purpose and need want attending. The outcomes of schooling for Black people in the United States present a problem that is neither new nor unique. Presidential commissions, scholars working independently and in concert, teachers in the classrooms, the Black leadership, and entertainers and athletes have all shown concern and proposed solutions. The Congress has conceived of and supported what seems to be an endless stream of programs which purport to address problems associated with the education of Black children. The Executive Branch has periodically acted to remove constraints to education for Black children and youth-- at times going to the extreme of deploying troops to accomplish this purpose. The Supreme Court has, for some time now, consistently ruled that public policy which supports differential outcomes of schooling as a function of ethnicity are unconstitutional. Given all of these events, why then does a need exist for a paper that takes a position on a matter that is apparently so well defined with efforts designed to solve the problem in process? Our answer to this question is rather simple and straightforward.

Available solutions to the problem with which we are concerned stem from perspectives that label Black people as defective, deficient, and in some cases, retarded. We reject that perspective. Available solutions tend to approach our problem without sufficient respect for the order or magnitude of our problem's complexity and vastness. These solutions tend to be skewed toward the esthetics of one process as opposed to another without sufficient attention addressed toward the efficacy of these various processes for affecting outcomes of schooling for Black children. Frequently the solutions that we are discussing here are not data-based, but are "tested out" on Black children to determine whether or not the solutions are safe to apply to problems associated with Euro-American children from middle class families. Finally, these solutions, taken as a whole, are piecemeal and stopgap measures that fail to point to areas in which future research and development would be fruitful.

Historical research indicates that through the gradual evolution of the educational system and very limited action on the part of the legislative and judicial systems, some favorable changes have been made to assure that low-income, Black children have access to instruction. However, little empirical work has been done which provides the academic community with insight into what happens to those children once they gain entry into the classroom. We submit that "taking them to the door" is not sufficient, and efforts directed toward effecting positive change in how they are treated once granted access, are long overdue.

Three additional matters which have to do with our biases need to be addressed: the extent to which discrimination pervades this society, relationships between schooling and outcomes of schooling, and what may appear to be a contradiction between our positions that 1) low-income and urban Black children have a right to acquire those skills that are acknowledged to be critical, i.e., reading, writing and computation; and 2) many low-income, urban Black and middle-income Euro-American children have been socialized to different criteria. Discrimination exists in all social systems in this country, including, justice, health, employment, governance, housing and education. In this paper, we have confined ourselves to one of these systems, education. With respect to our second bias, we have read Christopher Jencks, but we have also read substantive and methodological criticisms of Jencks. We agree with a set of his critics. Thus we have not ignored Jencks. Rather we have developed what may be described as an alternative to Jencks' position. Finally, we find no contradictions between the two positions alluded to above. In fact, we see in their juxtaposition a restatement of a major principle held by John Dewey: that miseducation occurs when educators fail to acknowledge the nature and needs of the learner.

Our basic contention is that as a result of nebulous, incomplete, and sometimes incorrect information, teachers frequently classify children in such a way that ultimately the life chances of the children are negatively affected. The fact that we were able to approach the problem from so many directions, and yet arrive at the same conclusions, tends to emphasize the critical nature of this problem. We therefore submit that this paper has significance for the education of low-income, urban Black children for the following reasons:

1. It does not define the Black child as defective, deficient, or retarded, as is done by so many of our colleagues.
2. It stems from a complex definition of the broad problem area.
3. It conceptualized the problem both in terms of process and student outcomes.
4. It arrives at conclusions that are data based.
5. It presents future directions for research and development.

We are firmly convinced that areas such as the one explored here must be studied if problems associated with the education of low-income, urban Black children and youth are to be solved. We believe that the effort made here is a first step toward finding such solutions.

J. A. J., Jr., Ph.D.
San Francisco, California
1973

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This section includes: 1) a description of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (The Laboratory), the Renewing Home School-Linkage Program (the Program); and 2) a summary of a) the history and goals of the position paper; b) the major features of the position paper; and c) the presentation of a glossary of terms.

PROGRAM OVERVIEW

The Laboratory

The Laboratory was established as a public nonprofit organization in 1966 under a Joint Powers Agreement. Signatories presently include:

The Regents of the University of California
The California State Board of Education
The Trustees of the California State Colleges
The Board of Education of the San Francisco Unified
School District
The Regents of the University of Nevada
The Nevada State Board of Education
The Board of Regents of the University of Utah
The Utah State Board of Education

Through appointments to the Board of Directors, each of these agencies participates directly in establishing Laboratory policy, and in working with the Laboratory staff. In addition, the Laboratory has developed close working ties with a broad network of state and regional education agencies, local school districts, the educational publishing industry, professional organizations, community and parent groups, Head Start and Follow Through districts, and Model Cities agencies. With respect to dissemination, the Laboratory has allied itself with CEMREL, Inc., Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, and the Wisconsin Research and Development Center in a concerted effort to speed installation and utilization of completed R & D products and processes.

The Laboratory has five major development divisions, each of which is responsible for different areas of educational research and development (R and D). Division I is concerned with developing more effective teaching procedures. Division II concentrates on training systems. Division III is developing new and better materials for the instruction of the very young student. Division IV identifies and investigates problems relating to home-school linkage, while Division V develops ways and means of facilitating installation and utilization of the products generated in the other four divisions.

Policy. Policy is established by a twenty-six member Board of Directors representing major educational instituitions and agencies in northern California, Nevada, and Utah. Five Board members represent community groups and other interests in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Plans for new and ongoing programs are reviewed by a seventeen member Executive Panel, composed of members of the Board of Directors, members appointed by the Board, and six Laboratory staff members (The Laboratory Director and five Associate Laboratory Directors). Operational decisions on matters that "cut across" the various development programs are made by a Laboratory Council composed of the Director and the eight Associate Laboratory Directors. Additionally, each product development division has an Advisory Committee which reviews the work and plans of that division semiannually.

Support. The Laboratory's Media Service program provides videotape and motion picture production, still photography, graphic arts, audio production, inhouse duplication and collating, as well as access to the Government Printing Office in San Francisco. The Utilization Division actively carries out market analysis, demonstration, installation, monitoring, and public information functions for all product development programs.

The Laboratory's Manpower Division is responsible for personnel administration, recruitment, staff training, and the monitoring and implementation of affirmative action employment policies (in 1972, 43% of the employees were non-Euro-Americans). More than thirty employees are enrolled in experimental courses in educational development, dissemination, and evaluation at local colleges. The Department of Labor has sponsored eight on-the-job trainees from the Richmond (California) Concentrated Employment Program. Each Laboratory employee has a semiannual work planning conference with his supervisor, as well as an annual performance review.

The Planning Division is responsible for preparing and revising the Laboratory's long-range plans, the Annual Budget Justification for the Office of Education, and the quarterly revisions of program and financial plans. This division also maintains program and product files for the Laboratory.

The Administration Division is responsible for fiscal management, contracts and procurement, bidding and proposals, administrative services, and administration of media services. A management information system provides monthly fiscal data at program, component, and activity levels. The Audit Committee of the Board of Directors has appointed Haskins & Sells as the Laboratory's auditors.

Mission. The Laboratory's overall mission has been characterized as "helping children have more and better opportunities to learn." Its major focus is on the development of educational products that will aid in the process of self-renewal of schools and teacher-training institutions. Each development division seeks to meet educational needs and solve problems within a given area of specification (e.g., teacher education or early childhood education). But various programs within these larger divisions work cooperatively and synergistically with other Laboratory programs outside their own divisions and with other developers in cooperating laboratories, R and D centers, private research organizations, school districts, and universities, to achieve the highest quality of all Laboratory products and to avoid duplication of effort.

Since its inception in 1966, the Laboratory has been responsible for several major innovations in education. One of the first and most outstanding was the Inservice Minicourse Program, which develops teacher-training information packages that are presently incorporated in the education curriculum of many of the larger universities. Another successful program was the Parent/Child Toy Library Program, which presently ranks second in the Educational

Testing Service's recommendations to USOE for focused dissemination efforts. This program has completed development and testing of a training course for parents of three- and four-year-olds. The Laboratory has also undertaken a contract to supervise the operations of the National Day-Care Demonstration Center located in the Office of Education, Washington, D.C. Training units designed to enable elementary school teachers to collect their own ethnic-studies classroom materials for Black, Mexican Americans, Navaho and Chinese groups originated at the Laboratory. Extensive field testing of training systems has been sponsored and expedited by the Laboratory as well as the refinement of data collected as a result of these tests.

In short, the Laboratory has been a progressive force in the various inputs of educational research and development and looks to the future with optimism for more positive outgrowths.

The Program.

Shortly after the Far West Research Laboratory was established, it became apparent that a need for a comprehensive and multicultural education program was critical. During the next few years, several projects were undertaken in pursuit of that idea, such as the development of an educational TV course for teachers in "ghetto" schools and the development of a TV workshop in human relations. Finally, in December of 1968, the Laboratory Executive Panel approved plans for a new program to be formally initiated in 1969.

It was not until April of 1970 that a Program Director was appointed and specific program objectives were outlined. The major goal was to find means of resolving conflict between parents and educators resulting from different "value" emphases placed on academic curricula. The Home-School Linkage Division has been primarily concerned with low-income children and the quality of schooling that is made available to them. Substantial effort has been devoted to improving teacher skills for working with these children as well as identifying problem areas emanating from administrative policy and classroom procedures that are exercised when dealing with the low-income, urban child. A sample of the areas in which these activities occured include social studies, early childhood education, parental involvement, ebonics, locus of control of reinforcements, parental evaluation of educational materials, home-school cultural mismatch, readability, and teacher training.

By articulating the cultural differences that were developed prior to the introduction of "school" into the child's environment and exploring these differences with the teacher and the school, the probability for bridging gaps between home and school becomes greater. The Renewing Home-School Linkage Program has added a new dimension to educational research and development.

SUMMARY OF THE POSITION PAPER

History. In October, 1972, a specialist panel, convened by the National Institute of Education (NIE), was impressed with the significance of the problem as it was formulated in the program's request for funding. Because of problems associated with our program focus, however, the panel suggested that we be supported for a period of one year to effect:

> the collation of existing knowledge derived from research, observation and perhaps, also, especially created panels of educators and social scientists with special experience and concern in this area, to provide a definitive review and/or position paper.

As a result of the panel's recommendation, subsequent interaction with NIE representatives, and our experience, our efforts were primarily addressed toward the phase-out of work that was in progress during fiscal year '72, in the first quarter of the program year, and the development of the present position paper, during the remainder of the program year. This position paper thus was initiated by Division IV in January of 1973 at the recommendation of a special panel of the National Institute of Education.

Goals. The position paper goals derive from both historical and feasibility antecedents. We strongly felt the need to delimit the problem in such a way that it included only a portion of the larger problem with which we had previously been concerned. We also felt that it was important to build on features of our previous work that we judged to be salient. Further, we assumed that the position paper ought to include both our perceptions of 1) a problem area and 2) the effects of the sub-problems embedded in that area on student outcomes.

It was against this background that the goals for this position paper were stated. Those goals were:

1) To expose the reader to the assessment of educational research in our problem area.

2) To help to clarify a set of complex problems associated with interactions of low-income, urban Black children and their teachers.

3) To identify research areas in which more research is needed.

Our immediate purpose was to provide a base from which to identify a target area for further research and study. The outcomes of this position paper will form the bases for development of a Renewing-Home-School Linkage program that will positively affect the education of low-income, urban Black children in grades K-3.

Major Features. The key elements of the position paper are both structural and contextual. The form is circular in that the paper can be read in any order depending on the user's purposes. With respect to content, the position paper includes information at both the general and specific levels.

Material at the general level, e.g., theory, is in our judgment applicable to all children, while the chapters on sources is applicable only to low-income, urban Black children.

Organization. The position paper is organized by sections. Section I includes a set of discussions of the boundaries of the larger problem area. The next section (Section II) is composed of material associated with the delimited problem area and our intellectual framework. Section III includes reviews of the literature; and summaries, conclusions, and recommendations. These Sections are followed by a bibliography and a set of appendices.

Strategy. Division IV is composite of men and women from polyethnic backgrounds. Designated staff members were assigned to individual areas of the paper, depending upon their expertise and experience. To gain a more objective viewpoint, however, a multidiciplinary team of experts assisted the program staff by serving as members of advisory and review panels. Through them, each writer was able to scrutinize his area more closely for comprehensive coverage of the various aspects of the paper. At various stages of development, these panels were brought into the Laboratory to test the postulates of the paper before it progressed to a subsequent stage. This allowed for continuous, varied input.

Recommendations. Hours of research, writing and rewriting were spent to assure the validity of the content as well as clarity of presentation. The recommendations and conclusions put forth in Chapter X are drawn from a collective agreement of all the writers and the advice of panel members after a thorough assessment of the problem area. The area we are concerned with leaves much to be desired in terms of research and development. The Laboratory has both the facilities and personnel resources to perform this work. We are in an area that has been virtually untouched, but is long overdue for examination.

GLOSSARY

Acculturation - A term used by anthropologists and sociologists to refer to the acquisition by an immigrant of the culture of the group into which he has migrated. It is also used to refer to individuals in societies composed of many ethnic groups who acquire the culture (life style, manner of living, ways of behavior) of a group other than their own.

Article - A type of research evaluation instrument that is expository in nature, employing declarative sentences, and imbedding the guidelines in the body of the text.

Agent of the public - The state, or government; a person appointed to act for the public in some matter pertaining to the administration of government or the public business.

Behavioral Repertoire - The set of behavior patterns which an individual has learned to consume (comprehend) and generate.

Checklist - A type of research evaluation instrument that is a column of questions, usually subsumed under critical headings, and requiring only that one consider whether the question applies to some particular report.

Cognitive Abilities Test - Part of an integrated series of intelligence tests used in the second half of kindergarten through grade 3 and can be followed by two other tests, Lorge-Thorndike & Multi-Level Edition which cover grades 3 through 13. The linking of the two tests makes it possible to obtain comparable test scores across the fourteen grades. It is designed for small group administration, and has four subtests: Oral Vocabulary; Relational Concepts; Multi-mental and Quantitative Concepts. All instructions and questions are given orally and responses are represented pictorally.

Coleman Report - General title of the Equality of Educational Opportunity by James Coleman et al is the findings of a national survey commissioned by Congress under a provision of a Civil Rights Act of 1964, to acertain information on school resources for specific minority groups in different regions of the country.

Equal protection of the law - An act which states that equal protection and security shall be given to all under like circustances in his life, his liberty, and his property, and in the pursuit of happiness, and in the exemption from any greater burdens and charges than are equally imposed upon all others under like circumstance.

Ethnocentrism - The emotional and usually regressive attitude that one's own ethnic group, nations, or culture is superior to all others and the attempts to enforce this culture through any means.

ex rel. - Ex Relation - Upon relation of information. Legal proceedings which are instituted by the Attorney General or other proper person in the name

ex rel. - continued
and on behalf of the State, but on the information and at the instigation of an individual who has a private interest in the matter, are said to be taken "on the relation" of such person, who is called the "relator."

Defendant - The person defending or denying; the party against whom relief or recovery is sought in an action or suit.

Differential Socialization - Defined in this context as the variation in student outcomes between ethclasses.

Due process of the law - The essential elements of due process of law are notice and opportunity to be heard and to defend in an orderly proceeding adapted to the nature of the case, and the guarantee of due process requires that every person have protection of a day in court and benefit of these laws. This constitutional guaranty demands only that laws shall not be unreasonable, arbitrary, or capricious, and that means selected shall have a real and substantial relationship to the object.

Gain Score - The difference between a pre-test and a post-test score.

I.Q. - Intelligence Quotient - A number held to express the relative intelligence of a person determined by dividing his mental age by his chronological age and multiplying by 100.

Instrument - A type of research evaluation form equipped with multi-level, multifaceted scales upon which one locates his answers to a string of questions or statements.

Invidious Discrimination - Those acts having the effect of law which confer or deny a particular privilege to a selected group or individual; such acts are based on classifications which are by their very nature inherently arbitrary and unreasonable. Discrimination based upon a classification that is inherently arbitrary and unreasonable violates equal protection notwithstanding a compelling state purpose or interest.

Jurisdiction - The power of a particular Court to hear a case.

Kuhlman - Anderson Intelligence Test - A mental abilities test for children from K-12 which includes measurement of both motor and quantitive factors.

Litigation - Contest in a court of justice for the purpose of enforcing a right.

Mean - An arithmetic mean, commonly referred to as the "average," is the sum of a set of scores divided by the number of scores.

Micro Teaching - a method of teacher-education. Student teachers are videotaped to practice different pedagogical skills, e.g., questioning a small group of students.

Otis-Lennon Mental Ability Test - An intelligence test which measures reasoning structures and classificatory reasoning ability in elementary school children.

Plaintiff - A person who brings an action; the party who complains or sues in a personal action and is so named on the record.

Precedent - An adjudged case or decision of a court of justice, considered as furnishing an example of authority for an identical or similar case afterwards arising or a similar question of law.

Prima Facie Case - Such as will suffice until contradicted and overcome by other evidence. A litigating party is said to have a prima facie case when the evidence in his favor is sufficiently strong for his opponent to be called on to answer it.

Primary Mental Abilities Test - An intelligence test, group administered as a paper and pencil test. There are three forms for different age groups ranging from 5 to 17 years of age.

Sic- This term, when found after a printed word or passage, indicates we have reproduced the original term even though we are aware that there are multiple meanings and connotations for the term.

Sine Qua Non - That without which the thing cannot be; an indispensable requisite or condition.

Standard Deviation - A measure of the variation in a set of scores. The more the scores cluster around the mean, the smaller the standard deviation.

Stanford Binet Test - An intellignece test prepared at Stanford University as a revision of the Binet Simon scale.

Suspect Classification - The grouping of persons based on characteristics that are constitutionally irrelevant. Grouping based on color, creed, sex, and status are suspect and normally inherently unreasonable. Laws which fail to treat equally a "suspect group" violate the equal protection doctrine unless a compelling state interest exists.

Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children- This mental abilities scale can be used for children from ages 5 through 15. It measures fifteen factors in verbal and performance skills and can be either individually or group administered.

V. - Versus - Against.

INTRODUCTION

Dorothy Clement

The United States has historically been a culturally plural society. Many have contributed to this pluralism, among others, indigenous Indian populations, forcibly abducted Africans, immigrants and indentured laborers from Europe, Mexico, China, Japan, the Philippines, and the South Pacific islands. The continuing diversity in the United States, however, has been obscured by an idealized view of America as a monocultural society derived from northern and western European cultural traditions in first a predominately agrarian-based society, and later a large industrial, urban-based society.

For the most part, the American posture toward ethnic differences has been to encourage assimilation. Until recently, the image of "Horatio Alger in the melting pot" was the idealized image of American society (Metzger, 1971: 628). Though the divergence of social patterns and values of the various ethnic groups has been examined and documented, the incorporation of America's ethnic and social minority groups into the "mainstream" culture was thought to be virtually inevitable.

Complete homogenization, however, has not occurred. The Civil Rights Movement of the Sixties and Subsequent Black Power and Nationalist movements of American Indian, Mexican-American, Oriental-American and other groups were dramatic evidence that America is not a monocultural society. Even the assimilation of white ethnic immigrant groups may have been much less extensive than commonly supposed.* As Metzger (1971) describes the recent analysis concerning this issue:

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* See Metzger, 1971 and Forbes, 1971, for example.

> As early as fifteen years ago, Glazer (1954, p. 172) noted that a kind of ethnic consciousness, part "nostalgia" and part "ideology," was observable among the descendants of immigrant groups, which consciously performed "some functions, and even valuable functions, in American life." Gordon (1964) distinguishes between structural assimilation (participation in the dominant society at the primary group level) and acculturation (acquisition of the culture of the dominant group). He argues that the latter process has been rapid on the part of minorities in American society, but the former has not and will remain limited for the foreseeable future (except in the "intellectual sub-society"). In the sense that primary social participation for most people remains limited by ethnic boundaries, the United States, argues Gordon, can be described as structurally pluralistic along ethnic, racial [sic], and religious lines. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) note the differential response and resistance of diverse minorities to Americanizing influences and state that the ethnic group is more than a survival of traditional immigrant culture; it is, they claim, a product of the impact of American life on such culture, a "new social form" (p. 16). They go beyond Gordon in emphasizing the ethnic influence in secondary (occupational, political) as well as primary spheres. Greeley (1969, p. 7) doubts that even the acculturation process has been as Gordon (1964) claims and has called for a reassessment of the ethnic group as a source of identity, interest-group formation, and subcultural differentiation in American society (1971: 640).*

The multicultural nature of the U.S. population has significance for the educational system. Schools cannot be viewed as either "acultural" or "asocial."

Cultural and Social Dimensions of Education

Education trains students in skills and values they need to appropriately behave and function in roles which, in the eyes of educators, should be obtained. These roles are usually not restricted to isolated areas of life such as employment and career. Educational systems transmit skills, attitudes, and knowledge that bear upon community and family life as well as upon work and employment.

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* For additional discussion of the role of Euro-American ethnic group membership in the U. S., see Varenne, 1972. Also see Chapter I.

To some extent, however, what is learned in school are cultural conventions appropriate and/or useful only in certain situations with certain types of people. Different forms and styles of behavior are appropriate for different audiences and situations. Behavioral repertoires may contain a number of equivalent acts from which individuals select those acts which carry meaning in a particular social setting. Selection among these alternatives is of social significance because it carries social meaning. The social significance of behavior is tied to context as defined by the social norms and cultural beliefs of the community in which the behavior is displayed.

In studying education cross-culturally, it is apparent that education cannot be meaningfully separated from its cultural and/or social context. There are a variety of approaches to the educational process as well as a variety of opinions as to the ends to which children should be educated. Each educational system incorporates a particular set of methods for teaching a valued set of skills and attitudes and a set of assumptions concerning what children's educational needs are (e.g., which language and dialects the child needs to master; and what features of peer relations are positive). As Wallace* points out:

> ...what is needful to learn in one society is not necessarily needful in another. Cultural differences demonstrate that there is no absolute set of things to be learned; what a man should learn is a function of his culture (1973: 238-9).

The cultural content of formal education is generally not recognized. Spindler,** in pointing out the general lack of recognition of the cultural content transmitted in the schools, states:

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* See also Beals _et al_, 1967: 140-177.

** See also Brookover and Erickson, 1969:28.

> Discrepancies between intended educational goals - intended transmissions - and what is actually transmitted are present in curriculum design, in the literature of textbooks and teaching aids, and in classroom procedure. They permeate all phases of the student-teacher relationship, the professional education of teachers, and the very subculture of education (1963: 1).

Singleton supports this suggestion. He states:

> Much of what passes for formal education in modern schools can be better understood as a ritualized reaffirmation of cultural patterns transmitted earlier in less-explicit ways (1973: 18).

These dimensions of education, however, become clear when one gives credence to variations in parent reactions to education in heterogenous populations. Parents also take part in the socialization of their children for present and future roles. For most, if not all of the areas with which the school is concerned, parents hold values as to how their children should behave and the ends toward which they should be trained, as well as belief about the type of approach likely to achieve the desired results. They assess the degree of fit between their ideas about educational goals and processes, and their perceptions of available system(s) of formal education. For example, a description of Southern Italian immigrants' perceptions of school is given by Silberman (1970):

> The South Italian immigrants...came from villages in which schools had been only for the children of the upper class; their children would have been unwelcome had they attempted to send them - a notion that would have struck them as ridiculous. "Education," as Nathan Glazer has written, "was for a cultural style of life and professions the peasant could never aspire to"... Nor, despite a strong desire for material improvement, did the Italian family see a role for education in America. One improved one's circumstances by hard work, perhaps by a lucky strike, but not by spending time in a school, taught by women, who didn't even beat the children.

> School was feared, too, as a threat to the solidarity of the family; to the extent to which Italo-Americans aspired to social and economic mobility, it was construed in terms of family rather than individual mobility. From the family's standpoint, the rebellious son or daughter was the one who insisted on remaining in school, not the youngster who insisted on dropping out. ...for the youngster intent on using school and college as the route to the middle class, the price was estrangement from both family and friends (1970: 55-56).*

A significant minority of parents in the United States has found alternative educational systems (e.g., Parochial schools) to be more consistent with their visions or desires for their children than the public schools. In some cases, parents choose an alternative school because the public schools, in their judgment, have failed to produce the educational outcomes that these parents value. In other cases, the parents wish their children to learn values and roles other than those taught by the public schools. The desire to avoid education not consistent with the values and priorities of the parents, for example, is strongly felt by Old Order Amish parents who have fought in court and set up their own schools to keep their children from compulsory exposure to secondary public education (Hostetler and Huntington, 1971; Hostetler, 1972).**

Other parents have attempted to bring about changes in the schools, either by trying to convince educators to change or by trying to gain more control over the school (such as through community controlled schools). Another expression of interest in furthering the training of children in certain cultural values and behaviors might also be found in parent and community efforts to affect the boundaries of school attendance areas. Brookover and Erickson (1969), for example, argue this point as follows:

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* See also Nash, 1972, for a discussion of variant perceptions of the utility of school in three villages--one Mexican, one Guatemalan, and one Burmese.

** For a somewhat general overview of "dominant" versus "subordinate" group conflict over educational goals, see Brookover and Erickson, 1969: 57-58.

> There are, however, some vestiges of educational objectives to maintain rural "purity" in contrast to "city-slicker" ways. In spite of the extensive patterns of interaction between rural and urban people and the extensive urbanization of American society, many rural communities resist the consolidation of their schools with city districts. It is not unusual to find separate school districts serving rural areas which surround a city school district. In some instances the surrounding rural area is organized into a single district to circumvent a merger with the town or city. These local school organization patterns are not the result of pure chance. Although costs of education and related tax matters may be involved in the local school district organization, the desire to maintain some separation is not irrelevant in many cases. Many rural people do not want their children to be exposed to what they perceive to be the undesirable aspects of city culture.
>
> Similarly, many suburban areas insist on maintaining separate attendance areas and/or separate districts in order to avoid contamination with what they perceive as the inner-city sub-culture. This, of course, is an attempt to maintain the diversity and perpetuate the perceived qualities of the middle and upper classes which are concentrated in the suburban areas (1969: 43-44).

In further support of the contention that schools represent and promote certain values and social ends not necessarily associated with basic skills, it might be pointed out that educators have role expectations of parents. The educator's perception of educational processes and the objectives to which (s)he is committed usually includes some idea of the role that the parent should fulfill. The educator expects, for the most part, that home and school will be compatible. Just as a number of parents try to alter features of the educational system, educators, through various means, sometimes try to alter or "compensate for" those parenting systems of which they disapprove.*

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* This is especially true for the public school system where it is more difficult to exclude a child than it is in a private or parochial school.

United States Schools and Ethnic and Social Class Minorities

In Silberman's (1970) discussion of the history of education in the United States as it relates to ethnic groups, he argues (p. 54) that the public schools from their inception have done a poor job of educating children from low-income and ethnic homes, and that "the role the schools have played in stimulating social and economic mobility for immigrant and native-born lower-class people" has been exaggerated.* Silberman continues:

> For some groups, to be sure-the Japanese Americans, the Greeks, and the Eastern European Jews, in particular--the schools have been the critical means of mobility...But these really were exceptions--ethnic groups whose cultures placed a heavy premium on individual achievement (emphasis ours, 1970: 54).**

For many other immigrant groups, Silberman argues (p. 4), the feasible route to social mobility has been through extra-legal methods, including organized crime. Then after middle-class status is obtained, school becomes more important.

Despite the diversity of the population, the schools have been maintained as a fairly monolithic structure based upon methods and curricula derived in part from northwest European schools which were mainly for instruction of upper-class persons. Educational philosophy, of course, has gone through a variety of changes including a emphasis on "life-adjustment" in the earlier pre-Sputnik part of this century (Hofstadter, 1963) which emphasized the practical applications of the subjects rather than their more academic dimensions. However, the values, goals and curricula transmitted by the schools remained or became more congruent with those emphasized by the bulk of the middle-class members of the population. And, in fact, the proper role of the schools in a democracy such as the United States is (was) largely seen as meeting the needs of the majority of the people.*

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* See also Greer (1972); and Illich (1972: 63).

** See also Brookover and Erickson (1969: 59), and Thomas (1965).

Others as well point out the middle-class orientation of the public schools. Commingling his data with evidence reported by Allison Davis, Hollingshead, and Lloyd Warner, Abrahamson (1952 a and b), for example, arrived at the following conclusions:

> ...the reward and penalty systems of junior high schools probably reflects middle-class standards and values... teachers in junior high schools, being largely of upper-middle and lower-middle class themselves, probably operate within the reward and penalty systems in a way that reflects the values of our social-status system, and are albeit, unconsciously favoring students of higher social-class background, penalizing students of lower-social-class background, and treating the middle group rather fairly in general.**

Many of the tests of achievement, intelligence, and cognitive development used in schools have also been indited as biased against ethnic minority and lower-income children (R. Cohen, 1969 and 1971; Labov, 1970; Anastasi, 1964; Cole _et al_, 1971).

Spindler (1963) also argues that teachers are drawn from the middle class and tend to transmit that orientation to their students. He further argues:

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* See also Thomas, 1965.

** Assumptions about the purposes of formal education incorporated in philosophy and in practice, of course, can be characterized along a number of dimensions. Two dimensions that have received attention in the United States have been the issues 1) common versus differentiated education, the former of which is generally believed to be the way to assure equal educational opportunity for everyone (Brookover and Erickson 1969: 30-39) and 2) emphasis on individual versus societal needs (Silberman 1970: 170). At various points in time, particular points on these dimensions have been selected as the ideal against which American schools should be measured or planned.

> I believe that it can also be demonstrated that the value pattern that I have termed "traditional" is found in this [middle and lower-middle social class] cultural context in its most purely puritanic form. To the extent this is so, it means that whatever selective processes are operating tend to bring many people of traditionalistic value orientation into teacher training (1963: 22-23).

A clear manifestation of the ethnic and class, or ethclass, orientation of the schools is the negative value that is placed upon those children, families, and communities that deviate from the acceptable range of middle-class norms.* Not only is the school oriented toward teaching values and skills which are consistent with the middle-class culture, but it also transmits the view that low-income and ethnic patterns are inferior and unacceptable, and more-or-less channels children from these backgrounds to positions evaluated as inferior (Leacock, 1969; Rist, 1970; 1972 b).

This approach to minority children would appear to be a pervasive pattern that transcends many others in importance. On the basis of his study, Rist concludes:

> Social-class differences play an important role in the school experience of the child and such differences may significantly affect the child's opportunity for success (or failure) within the classroom milieu. There appeared to be clear differences between the level of intensity of distance maintained by the teacher between herself and those children at table 1 as opposed to the enforced distance between herself and those children at tables 2 and 3. Those children from dissimilar social-class backgrounds appeared to experience the classroom situation in quite different ways. It may be suggested that the pattern of social organization present within the kindergarten classroom in fact sustained the class differences of the large society with a definite gap, not only between the teacher and those children at tables 2 and 3, but also between the children at the table 1 and those at the remaining two tables. Thus one finds, from

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* See Lynd and Lynd, 1929; Warner, 1944; Hollingshead, 1949; and Becker, 1952, for example.

> the very beginning of the school experience of this particular group of low-income children, the school perpetuating what it is theoretically committed to dissolve class barriers which reinforce inequality (1972 b: 258-9).

A goal of the school was, and to a large extent still is, to standardize children into what might be termed a middle-class "American" pattern (Hostetler and Huntington, 1971; Greer, 1972; Wax and Wax, 1971; Rodehaver and _et al_, 1957; Y. Cohen, 1971; R. Cohen, 1969; Fantini and Weinstein, 1968; Brookover and Erickson, 1969). Thus, those who are seen as unable or unwilling to meet these standards are viewed negatively.

Educational Outcomes for Ethnic and Social Class Minority Students

Estimates of the proportion of students whose school experience do not result in adequate education go as high as one quarter to one third.* Compared to Euro-American middle- and upper-income youngsters, non-Euro-American children from lower-income families tend _not_ to acquire the basic skills taught in the public schools. Numerous studies have indicated the lower achievement levels of these children. Probably the most widely known study which reports on different achievement levels is the study commissioned by the federal government known as the Coleman Report (Coleman _et al_, 1966).

In that study, the achievement levels of some 645,000 students in grade 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12 from a nation-wide sample of some 4,000 schools were measured using a set of standardized tests covering a set of basic skills assumed by the research group to be crucial in getting a good job and participating fully in an increasingly technical world. Summarizing the different scores of "Negro" versus white children, Coleman (1969: 258) made the following points:

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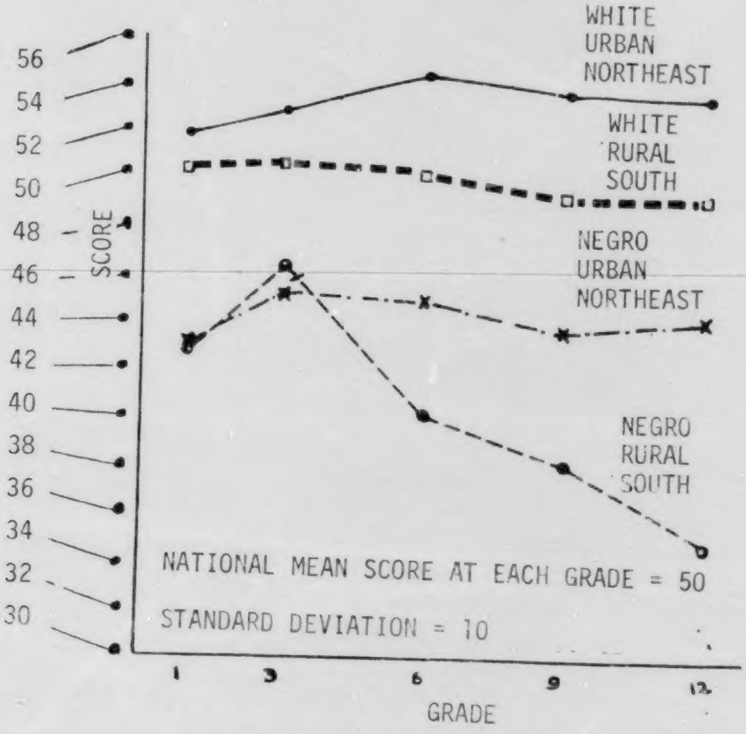
* See, for example, Leacock (1969: 7), Lessinger (1970: 1).

> In all areas of achievement tested (verbal skills, mathematical skills, and in higher grades, tests in practical knowledge, natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities), results were similar. The white and oriental Americans achieved at comparable levels in all grades tested (1, 3, 8, 9, and 12), and the other minorities achieved at a level sharply lower, with Negroes [sic] and Puerto Ricans achieving lowest of all. Over the span of grades from 1 to 12, the relative achievement of low-achieving groups declined. For Negroes [sic], this decline occurred in all areas except the metropolitan North. The decline was greatest in the South, and greatest of all in the nonmetropolitan South. Thus in the nonmetropolitan South, Negro [sic] students at grade 12 were about one and a half times as far below whites in that region as at grade 1 (about 1.5 standard deviations compared to about 1.0 at grade 1).

Coleman (1969: 22) presents a graph (see Figure 1 below) depicting Euro-American versus Black scores on achievement tests for verbal skills. Scores from the tests were transformed so that the national

Figure 1: Patterns of Achievement in Verbal Skills at Various Grade Levels by Ethnicity and Regions.



mean was set equal to 50 and the standard deviation equal to 10. This graph provides a vivid depiction of the lower scores of Black students in terms of grade levels. Twelfth-grade Black students, for example, in the urban Northeast, read at the ninth-grade level and do mathematics at the seventh-grade level (Harvard Educational Review, 1968).

The findings of the Coleman Report, as well as the research design and other test factors, have generated criticism and controversy.* However, there is little disagreement that "massive inequality exists in public school educational achievement along social-class and racial [sic] lines" (Harvard Educational Review, 1968). Other studies as well report differences in educational outcomes between Euro-American and non-Euro-American students, whether measured by reading level, progress through the grades, drop-out rate, or reciept of an academic diploma from high school (for entrance to college) or college attendance.**

Generally speaking, the findings concerning achievement can be described as showing not just a constant lower achievement for non-Euro-American children in relation to Euro-American children, but, in fact, a "cumulative deficit." That is, the longer a non-Euro-American child is in school, the further behind he falls. The Deutsch (1967) studies are perhaps the most explicit in delineating his phenomenon.

The educational outcomes for non-Euro-American children from low-income families (excluding Oriental-American children) are on the average less impressive than those for Euro-American children from middle-and upper-income families, is accepted as fact.

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* See, for example, the 1968 Winter issue of the Harvard Educational Review, No. 1.

** Burkhead et al, 1967; Wilson, 1963: Wilkerson, 1970; Michael, 1961; Wilson, 1959; U.S. Commission of Civil Rights, 1967; Sexton, 1961; Becker, 1952; Conant, 1961; Herriott and St. John 1966; for a study similar to the Coleman study in England, see Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967.

This position paper represents one effort to assess what is known about a set of boundaries that define this problem. One of those boundaries stems from the fact that public school governance is dynamic and is subject to change under stress. Another boundary is concerned with achieving equal access to the law, and therefore, to education. A third boundary results from a misunderstanding of the role that cultural differences play in formal evaluation of educational outcomes for Black children. A fourth boundary is associated with variances that exist with respect to outcomes of schooling for children by sex, ethnicity and residence.

In Section One, each of these boundaries is defined and analyzed. In Section Two, the problem area is delimited and the intellectual framework is presented. In Section Three, reviews of the literature and a summary, conclusions, and recommendations are presented. Section Three is followed by a bibliography and a set of appendices.

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SECTION I

THE LARGER PROBLEM AREA

The purpose of this Section is to present an overview of the Larger Problem Area. The area can be conceived of as a sub-area of a "total map" of problems associated with educational outcomes for low-income, urban Black children and youth. The boundaries of this sub-area may be perceived as arbitrary. The reader, for example, could probably generate a different but equally valid list of boundaries. We begin this section with a chapter in which a conceptual history of relationships between political pluralism and schooling is presented. In Chapter II we approach the problem from a legal perspective. Specifically, this chapter represents an analysis of case law as it relates to education in the context of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. In these two chapters we are in effect brought to the classroom door. Chapter III represents boundaries of the Larger Problem within the classroom--levels of learning as they relate to cultural pluralism in education. In Chapter IV, we examine selected laboratory experiments associated with evoking cognition. It is our judgment that these four boundaries sufficiently define our area of interest. It is anticipated that taken as a whole, the four chapters will adequately define the parameters of our Larger Problem Area for the reader.

CHAPTER I

Political Pluralism and Urban Education

George Murray

Political pluralism involves the development of a concept of shared power in making decisions in pursuit of consensually desired goals and objectives. Politics is defined here consistent with Easton's definition, i.e., the authoritative allocation of values. The political system has been defined by Kirst (1970) as:

> ...the social subsystem whose decisions about how private members and groups will be allocated, the limited objects that are valued in a society, are generally accepted as authoritative [i.e., legitimate] (Kirst, 1970:13).

In this society, one of those "limited objects" about which decisions are made through the interaction among subsystems is schooling.* Levin (1973) defines the polity as consisting of (1) the nature of the economic and political system, (2) social, religious and cultural factors, (3) the level of industrial development and (4) relationships with other societies. The polity makes certain demands on the educational sector for providing a skills base for the citizenry such that they are functional in the particular social, occupational niche they will occupy. We maintain that the acquisition of skills by members of given ethclasses is a function of how much of the shared decision-making authority one's ethclass controls in the pluralist** framework.

Levin calls this "mirror image" aspect of educational outcomes and its correspondence to the prescribed normative objectives of other subsectors within the polity, the "correspondence principle:"

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* See Inkeles, 1966; Spindler, 1970; and Jones, 1968, for data in this area.

** Pluralist is used to connote a consensus of expectations for political outcomes and to imply the sharing of power economically, politically, and socially by differing ethnic and religious groups.

> ...In brief, this principle suggests that activities and outcomes of the educational sector correspond to those of the society in general...All educational systems serve their respective societies such that the social, economic and political relationships of the educational sector mirror closely those of the society of which they are a part (Levin, 1973b:14).

Through the interaction of subsectors or systems in the polity, differential educational objectives and outcomes are produced by:

> ...creating values and expectations on the part of citizens with regard to their roles in society and the educational requirements for fulfilling those roles...It appears that a large portion of the differential socialization effects of the school and families are related to the roles assigned by the polity to different classes of individuals (Levin, 1973a:12).

In literature on "locus of control of reinforcements," Kohn (1969) found that the values and expectations of the children tended to "mirror" those of the social class of the father, while Hess (1967) found that the preferences of the children reflected the class of the mother. Kohn states, in reference to the above proposition:

> The higher the class position, the more highly they value self-direction and the less highly they value conformity to externally imposed standards (in Levin, 1973a:12).

Since there seems to be a strong correspondence between school outcomes and the political clout of the student's ethclass, it seems reasonable to examine the evolution of the pluralist decision-making structure within urban schools as a subsystem. We will demonstrate how immigrants, first from western, and then eastern and southern Europe, were integrated into the pre- and post-colonial polities and "allowed" to develop niches in the sub-systems of the polity, especially the educational sector, along differential routes with differential outcomes under the pluralist rubric which includes the egalitarian norm:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (Declaration of Independence).

In this chapter we will discuss changes in the cleavage within governance structures in urban school systems which reflect attempts by immigrant groups to make those who governed schools "responsive and responsible." Data will be presented which will show differential responses on the part of ruling structures in accommodating the demands of such groups as Irish Catholics, German-language advocates and adherents to Polish studies in the schools. Secondly, we will compare and contrast strategies used by urban Blacks on the one hand, and poor Euro-American immigrants on the other, to make governance structures responsive and responsible, and try to make predictions about adaptive behavior on the part of these governance structures as well as those exponents of ethclasses who may seek change in decision structures. Thirdly, we will describe four basic school governance models which historically were prevalent within the United States, and draw some parallels to present-day models. We will also attempt to explain correlations between the resurgent popularity of particular modes of governance, and changes and stresses between and within the basic sectors.

It is our hypothesis that there is a correlation between stress in subsystems which constitute the polity and changes in the decision-making structure in urban schools. It was in the schools where the disparity between the egalitarian rhetoric in such basic documents as the United States Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and the treatment which was afforded poor European immigrants, was defined. A corollary to our hypothesis is that it was in the schools using differential socialization mechanisms where one's "place" was reinforced, and students were prepared for roles dependent basically on their ethclass. These mechanisms had to do with a set of attitudes brought to the classroom by the teacher and a structured gradient of outcomes based on the curriculum of a given track, which then contributed to a self-fulfilling prophecy. This constellation of attitude, structure and outcome, in its regressiveness, was a function of the change in ethclass power relationships in the governance structure, in the educational sector, or other subsystems in the polity.

The Folklore of the Apolitical Nature of American Public School Systems

The "bringing of politics" into the school system or even suggesting analyses of schools from a systems perspective using tools from economics or political science has been depicted as an unnecessary evil. Kirst has stated in his book, The Political Web of American Schools:

> By a mutual but unspoken and long-standing agreement, American citizens and scholars have contended for many years that the world of education is and should be kept separate from politics. Although elections and referenda concerning other policies were viewed as "political," these words (elections and referenda) did not connote politics when used for educational policy. There were at least two reasons for attempting to preserve the folklore that politics and education do not mix: the risk to the schoolmen who were overt players of politics and the benefits to schoolmen who preserved the image of the public schools as a unique, non-political function of government (Wirt and Kirst, 1972).

The folklore of the apolitical nature of school systems is a myth which was touted from the turn of the century and espoused to dismantle the politically pluralistic governance structure of American education. Historically, a primary objective of the school was to socially, politically and economically disenfranchise poor immigrant groups, such as Irish, Italians, Poles and Jews from southern and eastern Europe (See Kirst, 1970; Levin, 1973a; and M. Katz, 1971). The schools, for most Euro-Americans, constituted the gateway to the comfort of the middle class, and Euro-American immigrants were targeted for the middle class through the evolving educational system. We suggest that the schools' governance/decision-making structure, partly through design and mostly through the politics of ethclass interaction, was responsive to the survival needs of the immigrant groups by providing jobs and religious and cultural support. In fact, the school system specifically, and the civil service system in general, were "reserved" for specific immigrant ethclasses by means of patronage systems. It was the decentralized, pluralistic governance structure of the school system which was primarily responsible for a semblance of economic solvency of the immigrants. The pluralist tolerance level decreased with the increase in numbers of heterogeneous ethnic groups and value structures, and increased with the homogenization of the immigrant into the normative milieu of the dominant WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant).

According to Wirt and Kirst (1972), the move to contain, control and circumscribe the political, hence, economic strength of the Euro-American "lower" classes came about at the turn of the twentieth century, and was dubbed "administrative progressivism." This model has been described:

> A nationwide, interlocking directorate of "progressive" university presidents, school superintendents, and lay allies emerged from the business and professional elites in the cities (Wirt and Kirst, 1972:53).

Reformers such as these alleged that their primary objective was to rescue the schools from a system of spoils and excessive decentralization or political and ethnic pluralism, claiming that this was the prime cause of the inefficiency evident in school systems in urban areas. Tyack (1967) mentions a core rationale for this reform:

> Underlying much of the reform movement was an elitist assumption that prosperous, "native"-born, Protestant Anglo-Saxons were superior to other groups and thus, should determine the curriculum and the allocations of jobs. It was the mission of the schools to imbue children of the poor with uniformly WASP ideals (Tyack in Wirt and Kirst, 1972).

The fact that "administrative progressivism" took the form of a nationwide interlocking directorate of university presidents and business and professional elites made the reform suspect. Wirt and Kirst (1972) state that in many urban areas:

> It was sometimes a very small group of patricians who secured new charters from state legislatures and thereby reorganized urban schools without a popular vote in the cities (1972:7).

They go on to assert that:

> The watch words of reform became centralization, expertise, professionalization, non-political (popular) control and efficiency...In all these reform concepts the most attractive model for organization and governance was that of the large-scale industrial bureaucracies rapidly emerging in the turn-of-the-century economy (Wirt and Kirst, 1972:7).

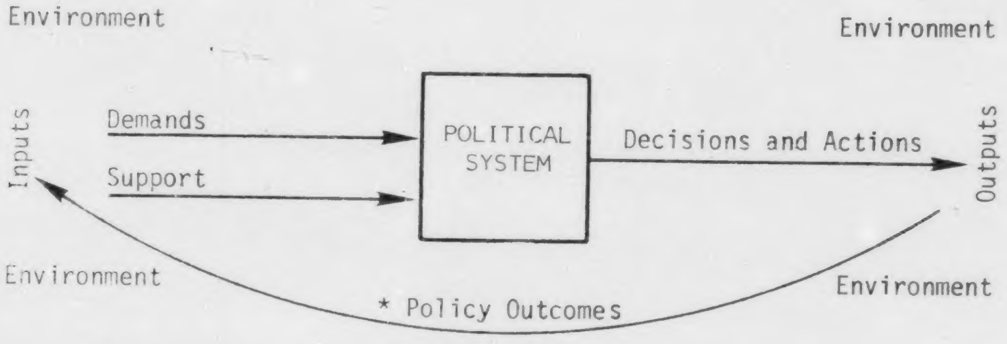
This "reform" was simply the overt manifestation of a "battle-lines-drawn" political skirmish between the upper and lower classes to decide who would allocate such values as income in the form of school personnel income, construction contracts, and decisions about "foreign" language instruction and/or purchases of property for construction of facilities. In a pluralist framework, this authority is shared by coalitions. The political system is the social subsystem which makes decisions about how citizens and interest groups will be allocated the scarce objects that are valued in society. These decisions are generally accepted as authoritative, i.e., legitimately enforceable.

Below, we will describe the relationships between a simplified version of the Easton Model of systems analysis and four model governance structures that have characterized American schools and permitted varying degrees of pluralistic participation in school decision-making. We will then return to the governance model that is prevalent in American public schools in order to interpret the thrust by Blacks, Spanish-surname citizens, Asians and Native Americans as a fundamental attack on the closed-system aspect of the schooling sector.

Components of Systems Analysis

Easton's framework contains the familiar perspective of major societal institutions, such as the economy, the school, and the church. Easton states, "individuals interact with one another in ways of belief and action that constitute a definitive cultural milieu." In our discussion, we may look at the model (see figure 2) as describing the political framework of the school system, per se, or we may look at the school system as a subsystem in the society depicted within the systems analysis framework, and occupying a quadrant in the space labeled "political system."

Figure 2. A Simplified Model of a Political System


Environment
Environment
Inputs
Demands
Support
POLITICAL SYSTEM
Decisions and Actions
Outputs
Environment
Environment
* Policy Outcomes

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* Author's modification

Source: David Easton, A System Analysis of Political Life, New York: Wiley, 1965, p.32.

In the Easton Model, the linkage between political systems and other systems is crucial. We may characterize this relationship as one in which stress in other subsystems of the social environment generates what Easton calls "inputs of demands and supports upon the political system."* The demands and supports are then reduced in the political system, which is in itself a conversion process.

The quadrant labeled "political system" is actually a symbol for a much larger set of decision-making subsystems. For instance, economic, religious, educational and cultural sectors occupy that framework, and form quadrants within the box. It is within this political system that inputs are perceived in the form of demands for decisions and/or support. These demands and supports have been called:

> ...key indicators of the way in which environmental influences and conditions modify and shape the operations of the political system (Wirt and Kirst, 1972:15).

The political system, in its conversion aspect, sorts input in the form of demands and supports, and the power clusters within the system tend to block, obstruct, modify or fully accept demands. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 represents a synthesis of demands for equal protection of the laws in terms of interstate commerce, voting rights and public accommodation (see Chapter II). The syntheses represented a growing storm which produced what Easton deemed stress that "critically impinges upon the basic capacities of any system to authoritatively allocate values, and to induce most members of the society to adhere to those values." This stress was caused by the growing demands of Blacks and supported by religious groups, ethnic interest groups, (Anti-Defamation League, the Catholic Church, etc.) public demonstrations, and congressional debate. The political system responded with a broadening of the pluralist governance structure through the reaffirmation of its egalitarian normative structure enunciated in the United States Constitution. However, other demands were rejected or ignored by the political system, for example, the demand by many Blacks and others to make Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday.

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*Demands for Irish Catholic teachers in 1848 in New York City to teach Irish Catholic students, for example, may represent such stress (see Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools, 1972; Cremin, The Transformation of the School, 1964).

The stress we have mentioned resulted from the interaction of participants within and among subsystems. However, this type of interaction can be dysfunctional in that it results from a disregard of "legitimate" demands founded in the normative framework, but practiced only partially. An example is the urban revolt, called by some an insurrection, where demands appear as pressure upon governmental structure, to authoritatively allocate a set of norms or values deemed desirable by a given constituency within a given political system. Supports, in the words of Wirt and Kirst (1972), take the form of willingness to accept the decisions of the system or the system itself. A steady flow of support is necessary if a system is to maintain its authority to allocate values in a pluralistic framework.

We have briefly described the conceptual framework of the four governance decision-making structures by which public schools were governed in the United States. We now turn to a description of those four models and compare and contrast their output and outcomes in terms of the normative framework inherent in the decision-making process.

Four Models of Governance in the American School System: Reflections in the Changing Face of Pluralism

In Class, Bureaucracy and Schools, Katz (1972) has posited that there were four models of governance which evolved through what Easton calls "stress in the subsystems of the society." The four models (which either broadened or narrowed the input [illegible] such as ethclasses, religious groups, and political parties in [illegible] framework), were (a) "paternalistic voluntarism," (b) "democratic localism," (c) "corporate voluntarism," and (d) "incipient bureaucracy." Each of these models is discussed below.

Paternalistic Voluntarism. Schools, public or private, were virtually nonexistent in the eighteenth century. It was the role of the family and church to acculturate young members of the growing society. The Puritans in the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed the Puritan education laws in 1742. Their concern was to acquaint children with the nature of death, hell and wrath, and to stress, as Cotton Mather preached, the child's possession of a soul. Thus, the basic textbook in the eighteenth century was the Bible, and the governing structure represented a combination of Puritan ministers and men who were heads of households in accord. In 1690, the most popular book for children was Michael Whittleworth's Day of Doom, a graphic description of hellfire and brimstone used to coerce children into the proper normative framework. In order to maintain the proper "cognitive map" or normative frame of reference, children were sent to catechism. The catechism made mandatory through the Puritan education laws of 1741 was designed to effect the authoritative allocation of values which the church and these English settlers wanted.

To demonstrate a pluralist aspect of the governance structure and the normative framework, we will cite an Indian college which was established at Harvard University shortly after Harvard was founded as a school to prepare male Puritans for the ministry. Harvard College published books in the language of the Indian populace indigenous to that section of New England. In the early stages of the migrations from England, the settlers felt responsible, according to Tyack, for "Christianizing" the indigenous populations. If one wants to interpret the treatment of the native populace as M. Katz (1971) and Tyack (1973) suggest we may, the New England Puritans wanted to be surrounded by their own English Protestant normative frame, and simultaneously create a vehicle to share their "knowledge" with the Indians in a Christian sense. That the Indians were sought out to attend Harvard prior to the formation of the Union is an implicit statement of a pluralist objective on the part of the Puritans. The Indian college at Harvard in the 1700's, the pauper and dame schools, and catechism for Blacks, are examples of attempts to foster a consensual normative frame which was deemed prerequisite to participation in Protestant Christian society. However, the implied rule was that one could only participate as a "civilized" member of the New England Protestant society if he accepted the normative frame, and cultural practices of the dominant WASP. One could not be nationalistic, desire independence and cultural autonomy, and be an equal participant in New England towns. In other words, the Indians were human beings only as long as they observed the rules of their Protestant mentors. In the case of Black ethclasses in Virginia, a "schizoid" pluralism existed. Although Blacks were taught the same Protestant values, and were encouraged to observe the same norms, their slave status was not affected. In both instances, we see stress in the form of the Indian-English War and the Black demands for equal treatment, due to shared cultural and religious values which preceded the potential for a democratic pluralism. In the education of Blacks in the South, we are able to see parallels between the practice of paternalistic voluntarism and the foundation-supported schools. When the Indians wanted to retain their political autonomy, they were summarily expelled from Harvard. The strategy for containment was very similar even though the rhetoric in both cases spoke of educating and civilizing. Indians at Harvard were prepared to minister to the religious and cultural needs (including literacy) of the Indians; in short, they were trained as missionaries to "Christianize" or Protestantize the Indians. Blacks in the schools, supported by philanthropists, were trained in the strictest of Protestant ethics in order to be exemplary purveyors of the "culture." As an aside, upon the beginning of the English-Indian wars, the Indian college saw a complete demise, and Indians were hunted as prey.*

This ebb and flow of the pluralist values enhanced through the governing structure of early American education was evident in the education of Black slaves in Virginia. Until 1669, Blacks were taught to read and write using the same basic text, the Bible, as every White Anglo-Saxon Protestant on the eastern seaboard. In 1669 a backlash became evident and took the form of laws enacted in Virginia which established that a Black's literacy and baptism could not be construed to affect his slave status.**

In New England, the schools for paupers and the dame schools which were staffed by young, unmarried women only, were supported and governed by private church groups and wealthy individual mercantilists who simultaneously had private academies for the wealthy. New York, in 1805, had a Free School Society (The Society) which, M. Katz (1971) maintains, represents the paradigm of paternalistic voluntarism. The Society stated its purpose as "...the means of education to such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for, by any religious society." It offered poor children training in the rudiments of literacy as it unabashedly tried to counteract the "disadvantages" resulting from the situation of their parents. In doing so, it rejected "free" education, except for the poor, the reason being the allegation that private churches were using New York state funds to propagate religion and, as was alleged in one scandal, to build a new Baptist church which precipitated grievious interdenominational bickering, according to Katz. The Society, in 1825, called for the establishment of public schools and said that it was the most appropriate agency for establishing a public school system.* Even though the society changed its name from the Free School Society to the New York Public School Society, its governance structure and the schools were administered by "an unpaid, self-perpetuating board of 'first' citizens who, having a desire to serve mankind, associate together and offer themselves to the public as agents to carry out certain benevolent purposes without reimbursement, being that class of men found in large cities who have leisure, who do not wish to mingle in the contest of politics" (M. Katz, 1972).

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*For more description of the above phenomena of changing tolerance levels, one may refer to Tyack's Turning Points in American Educational History, Waltham, Mass: Blaesdell, 1967; Katz's The Irony of Early School Reform; 1968.

** Such as the right to own property, vote, marry, exercise freedom of movement (see Franklin, 1967).

Paternalistic voluntarism had several positive attributes. According to Katz, it represented a governance structure that was cheap; there was minimal administrative expense, it exhibited efficiency and it "educated" thousands. However, Katz goes on to state that critics of paternalistic voluntarism stressed three defects:

> a. The state had given the authority and finances for public education to a private corporation without a "direct and immediate responsibility to the people, making the schools completely unreceptive to input ..."by the Irish Catholics, Germans, and Jews who were migrating in larger and larger numbers".

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*In 1825, the New York State legislature accepted their claim, and the society began to literally disburse the entire public grant for elementary education in the city of New York (See Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools, 1972).

b. The school ensured social order through the socialization of the poor in cheap mass schooling factories.

c. Public schools were simply renamed pauper institutions.

The plan of The Society, according to Katz, was not a voluntary system. It called for exclusive control of the children without permitting their parents any participation in curriculum selection, management, policy formulation, etc. Under paternalistic voluntarism, the schools were so patently ethnocentric and discriminatory against immigrants in general, and Irish Catholics in particular, that the Irish boycotted the state-supported schools operated by New York City and established a new phenomenon in the "Protestant" United States -- Catholic schools.

Democratic Localism. It was during the period of democratic localism that Irish power began to be flexed and accented. The Irish were deemed practically uneducable by educators in the 1840's to 70's along the eastern seaboard. The following quote clearly states the dominant perspective from which the Catholic and Jewish immigrants of that period were viewed:

> A very large proportion of the pupils in our cities and populous towns come from homes utterly destitute of culture and of the meaning and spirit of culture, where a book is never seen and reading is, with the adult members, a lost art, or one never acquired. There are schools in which four-fifths or more of the children are of this class. I, at one time, had under my supervision a school in which ninety-nine percent of the children were of foreign parentage, and hardly one of the whole from a home level with the lowest status of native-born intelligence. In such minds a sunken foundation must be laid by months or years of unpromising toil, before any portion of the work begins to appear above the surface. It seems almost impossible to give them a conception of either the uses or the pleasures of knowledge, or to lead them to that primal exercise of judgment by which two ideas are compared or combined. Even the simplest object-lessons are often unintelligible to them. Instruction can hardly be conveyed to them in terms which they can understand,

> and in what they attempt to learn, memory derives no assistance from association. A person of exceptional skill and patience might hope out of a single such block in the lapse of years to carve a statue; but what shall we think of the sculptor who is compelled every day to make some strokes of the chisel on forty or fifty of them? (M. Katz, 1971:41)*.

The preceding quote, in implication, is the same as those apologists for school system failure with Black children, who accuse Black children of being first "culturally deprived," then "culturally different," and lastly, to be harbingers of a cultural "deficit." All of these "scientific rationalizations" can, according to Katz, be reduced to Western European ethnocentrism (see Chapter III).

The demand by the Irish for Catholic schools and Irish teachers in the 1840's to 70's should have alerted educators to expect similar demands and strategies to be used by Blacks, who, during the Reconstruction period of 1865-1880, in the 1920's at the height of the Black renaissance, and again in the 50's and 60's demanded autonomous colleges, Black studies departments and faculties proportionately representative of the student bodies. Of course, the response of the structure was accommodation for those who could be accommodated, and imprisonment and/or death for those Blacks and other sympathizers**who sought change within the pluralist normative framework, but without compromise; or who continued to interject values that were theoretically domestic, but practically a foreign anathema.

Animosity towards the prevalent concept of noblesse oblige and upper-class "benevolent" paternalism reached such levels that a Catholic spokesman, a Bishop Hughes (1843), argued that class bias inherent in New York schools so alienated poor Catholic children and their parents that the Society for Public Schools applied for, and received in the form of law, a mandatory attendance statute for the poor who could only afford public schooling.

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*A precursor of the cultural [sic] deprivation thesis.

**Viola Liuzzo, an Italian martyr in the early Sixties, Reverend James Reeb, a Protestant minister killed in Ohio while picketing with Blacks for jobs, and Michael Schwerner and James Goodman, two Jewish students killed along with James Chaney in Mississippi, 1964.

An Alternative Decision-Making Structure: Democratic Localism. Reflecting on an earlier discussion of the Easton conceptual framework of systems analysis, due to much systemic conflict (the desire for shared authority and responsibility for education on the part of parents of "lower-class" children and the normative frame of the patricians), demands and supports were fed into the conversion process of the political system in the form of inputs, and the resulting decisions represented output. This output became known as "democratic localism." an alternative governance structure whose outcomes reflected a broadening of the society's awareness and learning, which resulted in modifying the normative framework to include the aspirations and goals of poor Irish Catholics of Boston and New York City, the Germans of St. Louis and the various cities of Pennsylvania. Katz gives us an example of democratic localism in New York in the early 1840's. John C. Spencer, then Secretary of State, claimed that the problems of New York City education arose from the New York Public School Society's "violation of...the principle underlying education elsewhere in the state, namely the operation of the schools by local districts in which the whole control of education remained to the free and unrestricted action of the people themselves..." (Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools, 1972:15). Mr. Spencer then stated that a proper remedy for the evils of upper-class domination of the governance structure was to make each ward of the city an independent and autonomous school district with exactly the same powers as the districts in rural areas, which were overseen by a board of commissioners with severely limited powers. Katz states that..."nothing in Spencer's plan would prevent a Catholic majority in a district from having Catholic teachers, and choosing textbooks sympathetic to thier religion. Democratic Localism like all idealogies served many functions. One was to rationalize the drive for Irish Catholic power" in Boston and New York (M. Katz, 1971:18). Today, to draw a parallel in our analysis, democratic localism can be used as a theoretical justification for Blacks occupying enough positions of authority to be in a position to allocate values.

According to M. Katz (1971), democratic localists in Massachusetts in 1840 who were members of the legislative educational committee, tried to pass a bill to abolish the State Board of Education which had been founded in 1837 and dominated by the "liberal" educator Horace Mann and his idea of the "common school." Even though the Board had powers of recommendation only, it was feared that it would be "...converted into a power of regulations through its close association with the state legislature" (M. Katz, 1971).

From an ideological point of view, Orestes Brownson, a minister and educator of the 1840's and 50's, adequately captured the flavor of democratic localism:

> The State, as well as the Union, should be a confederacy of distinct communities in which each vital interest (jobs, religious values, community cultural homogeneity) remained within the smallest unit would be the district, which shall always be the size sufficient to maintain a grammar school (M. Katz, 1971:17).

Democratic localists fought on several fronts. They were against paternalistic voluntarism, as evidenced in their battle against the New York Public School Society. They were against educational and other systemic bureaucracy and centralization, as depicted by their attacks on state boards of education and legislatures:

> In their resistance to bureaucracy, however, two other aspects of the democratic-localist attitude emerged most strongly. One was antiprofessionalism. The localists, unlike the sponsors of the New York Public School Society, were not vaguely indifferent to the concept of the professional educator; they were, instead, hostile and suspicious.
>
> Like Brownson, the legislative committee in Massachusetts recommending abolition of the Board of Education dismissed normal schools as European institutions unsuited to a free society and destructive of the progress that came from the rivalry of academies and high schools vying to produce the best teachers for common schools. To this, the committee added scorn for the whole idea of professional instruction for teachers: "Every person, who has himself undergone a process of instruction, must acquire, by that very process, the art of instructing others"; the legislative committee held that teachers needed special schools no more than mechanics did. Nor was it desirable to raise the job of school teaching to a "distinct and separate profession," inasmuch as schools were open only three or four months a year. "We may as well have a religion established by law," wrote Brownson, "as a system of education and the government educate and appoint the pastors of our churches, as well as the instructors of our children" (M. Katz, 1971:17-18).

The democratic localist had made many enemies, e.g., professional educators, administrators, some politicians and industrialists. Interestingly enough, many of these persons had gotten their jobs and positions through the politics of democratic localism. One can see that as the push for democratic localism, or Irish-German-Polish power-- immigrant power-- came into fruition, power relationships were changed so that the power to allocate those "scarce" entities deemed valuable had to be shared. The governance structures were broadened, pluralized through the resolution of stress in the political systems.

Incipient Bureaucracy. Incipient bureaucracy was an organizational model which gradually replaced democratic localism. If one were to distinguish between the functional focus of their methods, one would state that the democratic localists were concerned with governance and policy formulation, while the persons who were advocates of incipient bureaucracy were "professionals" who were concerned with problems of administration and instruction.*

The promoters of incipient bureaucracy included Horace Mann and Henry Barnard. Their criticisms of the democratic localists were twofold. They alleged, as did Elwood Cubberly in a much more ethnocentric vernacular, that democratic localism was, in fact, democratic, by pointing out that it allowed for the domination of the schooling sector of the polity by only 51% of the population. This dominant cluster was comprised of competing ethclasses and mores. Katz has stated that the proponents of democratic localism erred in assuming that there were ethnically homogeneous areas which would constitute a single district:

> In actuality, the variety within most communities, city wards, or neighborhoods would foster intensely political competition for control of the local school in order to insure the propagation of particular points of view, or at least the exclusion of rival ones (M. Katz, 1971:28).

A third perceived defect of democratic localism was its nostalgic clinging to the pastoral past of early New England as was suggested by Katz:

> Population growth and heterogeneity made extremely decentralized administration inefficient in an urban setting because of the existence of two or more independent half-belligerent and jealous districts...and a double or treble set of officers represented an uneconomical duplication of facilities and units (M. Katz, 1972:29).

It is not accidental that schoolmen began to engage in the formation of a bureaucracy simultaneously with the spread of urbanization on the eastern seaboard. As Boston, New York and other cities grew and began to "teem" with alien cultures, values and accents, the schools were mandated by an industrialist and mercantilist substructure to "corral" the heart instead of training the mind. Between the 1840's and 1860's, immigrants poured in from Germany and Ireland in particular, the former fleeing the revolutions of 1839 and 1849 and the latter fleeing from the ravaging potato famine. These new immigrants who became laborers in the factories, ports and shops were, by circumstance, urban dwellers. This influx, coupled with the flow of previously rural inhabitants to the cities, caused a hue and cry for order, cultural homogeneity, "cleanliness," and frugality. This cry was most loudly made by industrialists. Concerning the function of schools perceived and prescribed by the economic and religious subsystems and implemented by the newly evolving educational professionals, M. Katz (1971) has the following to say:

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*See Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History, Waltham, Mass.: Blaesdell, 1967.

> ...Schools came to be perceived as key agencies for uplifting the quality of city life by stemming diffusion of poverty, crime and immorality that were thought to accompany urban and industrial development. As Henry Barnard (a co-developer with Horace Mann of the Common School) stated: "The condition and improvement of her manufacturing population in connection with the education of the whole people, is at this time the great problem of New England to work out..." Schools had to halt the impending degeneracy of the New England character and heal the developing class gulf within New England cities where existed poverty, ignorance, profligance and irreligion (M. Katz, 1971:30).

Of the curriculum proffered under incipient bureaucracy, Katz said:

> ...nearly without exception they chose the heart (to be educated) over the head, moral education or the formation of right attitudes was more important than learning any skill or subject. The values to be instilled by the school were precisely those required for the conduct of a complex urban society...(M. Katz, 1971:32).

Those values stressed, represented in Katz's language, America's initial attempt to prepare its citizens for modernity and industrial life. It was the schools that prepared the young and old for employment and citizenship. Some, such as Hess (1968) and Kirst (1970), have described this normative aspect of schooling as political socialization, while Meyer (1968) has called this function diffused socialization, and Kohn (1969) stated that this socialization is differential, in that persons are socialized to fill the occupational niche (class, caste) of their parents. Meyer (1968) has also described this aspect of diffuse socialization as the "chartering effect."* We will discuss these concepts further as they relate to pluralism in Section III of this paper.

We have described the philosophy of education of this period in relationship to the Protestant-industrial ethic in which morality and docility (the willingness to take orders) were deemed the mark of an educated man. Tyack calls this phenomenon "the rise of republican education," i.e., an education that developed respect for industrial values of conservation of time, punctuality, frugality and obedience. There was also the striving to achieve superficial cultural homogeneity, i.e., manifesting the above values, whether one was English, Irish, German or French. The centralization of the normative framework of the process for diffusing the polity could be seen as functionally integrated with the ongoing centralization of the school system. District community boards (ethnic boards) were replaced by one central board. When this failed, a single high school with a central board composed of the "elite" was developed to "cap and harness" this heterogeneity, as well as the pluralistic governance structure of the public schools. Other centralizing aspects were as follows:

1. the classification of schools by age span
2. emphasis on supervision
3. accompaniment of pupil movement with military marching music
4. the formation of a central, townwide board composed of first citizens (W.A.S.P.)
5. compulsory school attendance (with threat of "reform" school for truancy)

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*See Meyer, The Charter: Conditions of Diffuse Socialization in the Schools, Memorandum 65, Stanford Univ. Center for Research and Development in Teaching, 1968.

6. an emphasis on the role of objectivity, precision and continuity of instruction
7. introduction of the district superintendent

On this movement for centralization, Katz (1971) states the following:

> Schoolment over and over again used the example of industry as an idealized standard that formed the basis for their justifications of the superintendency. They often described their school systems as factories and used metaphors based on the corporation and the machine (M. Katz, 1971:68).

Structurally, the bureaucracy in 1854 consisted of 118 school board members elected from 12 wards, choosing 6 members each. However, only four years previously, the school board consisted of twenty-four members, two from each ward. The above constituted the lay supervision. In 1850, there was no professional supervision, such as one would find in a system's central office today. The first superintendent was appointed in Boston in 1851, and it was not until 1876 that one finds a central office bureaucracy consisting of a superintendent, six supervisors, who in effect acted as alter (and argumentative) ego, the school board and forty-eight principals. In terms of types of schools, there were six types: (a) primary, (b) grammar, (c) Latin High School, (d) English (high school), (e) Girls High School, (f) Suburban High Schools, (g) Normal school. Of the above categories in 1850, the primary and grammar schools contained 99% of the students, and offered elementary and junior high equivalents. The Latin and English School were for the elite, and it is here that we see seeds of the Eastern private schools as they exist today. The normal school is significant in that teachers were trained there, receiving the equivalent of a high school education. Table I graphically depicts this structure.

Corporate Voluntarism. A fourth governance structure occurring at the same time as incipient bureaucracy and referred to as "corporate voluntarism," was a structure used to govern private institutions for the education of children of the wealthy, who were Protestant and middle class. Katz

TABLE I: Structure of the Boston School System, 1850 and 1876*

A. Lay Supervision

1850		1876	
School committee	24 members[a]	School board	24 members[c]
Primary school committee	73 members[b]		
TOTAL	97	TOTAL	24

[a] Two members elected from each of the city's twelve wards in 1850, with the mayor as ex officio chairman; changed to six elected from each ward in 1854, growing to 118 members.

[b] Appointed by, but with authority independent of, the school committee; abolished in 1855, and jurisdiction transferred to school committee.

[c] As of 1875, twenty-four members elected at large from the city; name changed from committee to board that year.

B. Professional Supervision

1850	1876	
	Superintendent	1[a]
None	Board of supervisors	6 members[b]
	Principals	48[c]
	TOTAL	55

[a] First superintendent appointed in 1851.

[b] Position of supervisor created by legislation in 1875.

[c] Masters of grammar schools appointed principals of both their own schools and primary schools in their districts in 1866.

C. Types of Schools

	1850			1876		
	Enrollment	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	Enrollment	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers
Primary	11,000[a]	161	164	19,221	114	423
Grammar	9,071	22	167	24,788	50	580
Latin (high school)[b]	96	1	3	355	1	18
English (high school)[c]	165	1	5	483	1	20
Girls (high school)[d]	--	--	--	569	1	25
Suburban high schools[e]	--	--	--	516	5	51
Normal school[f]	--	--	--	69	1	8

[a] Approximate figure

[b] Established in 1635, took students of grammar as well as high school age.

[c] Established in 1821.

[d] Separated from normal school and established in 1862.

[e] Includes Brighton High School, established in 1841; Charlestown High School, 1848; West Roxbury High School, 1849; Roxbury High School, 1852; Dorchester High School, 1852. All came into Boston system as a result of annexation of respective towns.

[f] Established in 1852.

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*M. Katz, 1971

(1971) and Tyack (1967) describe this structure as allowing for the conduct of single institutions as individual corporations operated by self-perpetuating boards of trustees and financed either wholly through endowment or through a combination of endowment and tuition. It was this model which, according to the above-mentioned educational historians, almost became the standard model for secondary education. The reasons are numerous.

In their early history, high schools were not popular with the working classes which, according to Katz, viewed then as class instruments irrelevant to their own aspirations and impossible to utilize because of the opportunity cost to the immigrant families. Secondly, high schools in their early history (1820's to 1860's) did not promote any semblance of social mobility, harmony or egalitarianism. Says Katz:

> It was the wealthy, prestigious community leaders concerned with economic development and social integration, as well as middle-class parents concerned with mobility and educational expense who formed the nucleus of high school promoters. It perpetuated the differential advantages of middle-class children (M. Katz, 1971:42).

The Northern primary schools, which were for the immigrants, taught respect for industrial mores, e.g., frugality, punctuality, continuity of time and the basic three R's. The academies, however, offered two curriculums, classical and technical, so that middle-class women would be prepared for teaching and middle-class men would be prepared to manage the industries. A more pluralistic use of the private academy under corporate voluntarism occured in the South.

> Because of the extreme poverty of the freed men in the devastated South, the federal government and northern philanthropic and religious bodies did much to finance and shape Black education in the years following the Civil War. Men and women, many of them heirs of the abolitionist tradition, went South with missionary zeal to help the ex-slaves achieve full freedom.

> Bringing the Gospel and secular knowledge, they believed in the capacity of their Black students. DuBois wrote of the founders of the colleges: 'The teachers in these institutions came not to keep Negroes [sic] in their place, but to raise them out of defilement of the places where slavery had wallowed them. The Colleges...were social settlements; homes where the best of the sons of the freedmen came in close and sympathetic touch with the best traditions of New England' (Newby & Tyack, 1971:194-195).

In the rural and urban South, not only did the use of corporate voluntarism as a governance structure enhance human rights, but in the normal schools of the South, which were comparable in structure, staffing curriculum and program policy to those of the eastern seaboard in the 1850's and 70's, racial pride and political socialization of a very "nationalist" or "militant" variety was taught by Yankee missionaries as Tyack describes below:

> Yankee missionaries taught not only their own skills and values, but also conveyed a critical lesson: race [sic] pride and an understanding of oppression. Here is a transcript of one lesson given in 1866 in one of these early 'freedom schools:'
>
> Teacher: Now, children, you don't think white people are any better than you because they have straight hair and white faces?
> Students: No, sir.
> Teacher: No, they are no better, but they are different, they possess great power, they formed the government, they control this vast country...Now what makes them different from you?
> Students: MONEY. (Unanimous shout)
> Teacher: Yes, but what enabled them to obtain it? How did they get money?
> Students: Got it off us, stole it off we all!
>
> (Newby and Tyack, 1971:195).

If one considers the educational strategy employed by northern abolitionists in the South as being different and perhaps very revolutionary in terms of the thrust it gave to Blacks, we would counter by saying that it followed the rule: you are different because you are uneducated and non-

Protestant; receive our education, adopt our mores and you may share in the governance structure.

The ex-slaves were receiving an education, and several Black congressmen and senators were elected to the United States Senate and Congress during early Reconstruction. To draw a parallel to contemporary society, many contemporary activists have analyzed the political and social "differences" between Blacks and the European-Americans; Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammed particularly, were, proponents of economic and political development. Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference advocated very similar strategies. Another parallel is that just as educated missionaries and abolitionists "descended upon the South to join with politically active Black ex-slaves," so did Black and Euro-American civil rights advocates in the 1950's and 60's. S.N.C.C. opened freedom schools which were very similar to the normal schools and academies of a hundred years prior.

In our discussion of the pluralist governance structures, we have talked primarily about the change in organizational form and normative structure wrought by demands fed into the system through ethclass interaction, and the resolution of interest-group demands within the conversion process and the production of decisions which become policy or societal outcomes. Thus, we see the importance of the organizational mode in its mediating position between social structure and social change. In our discussion, we pointed out the cyclical aspect of pluralism, the fact that each evolution of an education governance structure anticipated and responded to social change, especially in what some sociologists, historians and economists, (e.g., Veblen, Weber, Meyer, Levin, and Mark), have called substructure, i.e., the method of production and distribution of goods and services and ethnic and demographic changes. Katz has the following to say in reference to the mediating position of organizational form between social structure and social change:

> ...Paternalistic voluntarism was the form of organization characteristic of education in the preindustrial, mercantile city. Corporate voluntarism and democratic localism characterized rural areas and were proposed for urban places precisely at times of transition between mercantile and industrial stages of development. Incipient bureaucracy spread with incipient industrialization. In terms of social structure, we might suggest that paternalistic voluntarism characterized a society in which stratification was based on traditional notions of rank and deference, rather than on class in the more modern sense. Some evidence indicates that the poor and the working classes threatened by industrialization supported democratic localism in times of technological transition. However, the attempt by the middle-classes to secure advantage for their children as technological change heightened the importance of formal education assured the success and acceptance of universal, elaborate, graded school systems. The same result emerged from the fear of a growing, unschooled proletariat. Education substituted for deference as a source of social cement and social order in a society stratified by class rather than by rank.
>
> In each instance, the organization was at the center. It was the medium through which groups or classes organized their response to social imperatives. In short, organization mediated between social change and social structure. Hence, men brought to the design of their organizations their values, their ambivalences, their fears and, above all, their aspirations for the shape of American society. (M. Katz, 1971;54).

The Effect of Administrative Progressivism on the Pluralist Governance Structure of Urban Education

In our discussion of the folklore of the apolitical nature of urban education, we stated that this myth became prevalent at the turn of the nineteenth century and was used to dismantle the pluralistic governance structure of American urban education. During this period, the United States had statutes permitting open immigration for Europeans, and the United States was seeing an unprecedented migration of eastern and southern European immigrants, especially Poles, Jews and Sicilian Italians. Previous to that, the Irish famine of the 1860's caused much of Ireland's population to migrate to the United States, especially to urban areas along the northeastern seaboard, the Midwest and the Pacific coast. We have suggested that stress caused a cessation in the development of the pluralist framework, or caused it to be greatly modified, as with the treatment of native Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and Blacks through United States history. Each time, stress-- precipitated by unresponsiveness to the demands of an interest group --led to censure by the majority, who determine and define through the polity which values shall be allocated, which demands shall be embraced within the purview of the dominant normative frame and which are "outside," i.e., "foreign," militant, radical or revolutionary. In the instance of administrative progressivism, this philosophy of retrenchment and reaction to stress-producing "aliens" was codified by the "native" intelligentsia who function as Manheim describes below:

> In every society there are social groups whose special task it is to provide an interpretation of the world for that society. We call these the "intelligentsia." The more strata a society has the more likely is it that this strata will acquire a well-defined status or the position of a caste, thus the magicians, the Brahmins (i.e., Boston Brahmin), the medieval clergy...each of which in its society enjoyed a monopolistic control over the moulding of that society's world view (Karl Manheim, 1936:9).

In our discussion of the evolution of the four governance structures, we described the ongoing critique of education and the relationship of this to the prescribed use of the schools as the primary agent of political socialization. However, around 1870 the criticism became sharper; "immigrants" were "hitting these Protestant shores" and a depression in 1873 left "bitterness on the lips "of many of the intelligentisia, the most faithful supporters of the officially sanctioned ethic. Katz describes the criticism as focusing on three themes:

a. The cost of education.
b. The cumbersome quality of the bureaucratic structure.
c. Low quality of schooling outcomes.

In Boston, the first attack by the reformers who were proponents of administrative progressivism was to persuade the state to allow supervisors to be appointed from the elected board and to decrease the pluralist aspect of the board by reducing its number from 118 to 24 members, and simultaneously to undercut the authority of school supervisors by failing to "define and demarcate" clearly the duties and spheres of influence of these new supervisors. This resulted in instant immobility of the system due to disenfranchisement of the "immigrant"-oriented boards, tying the hands of administrators. Simultaneous with this critique of education, there was a critique of municipal government, or in Easton's language, an increase in demands and a decrease in supports for the political system. Educational and administrative progressivism associated with John Dewey, Cubberly of Stanford University, Butler of Columbia and Elliot of Harvard, accented the attempt to:

a. alter the political control of education
b. reformulate educational thought, (e.g., the child-centered school, the project method of instruction)
c. introduce educational innovations, (e.g., tracking, development of diversified curriculum, such as commercial, college prepatory, industrial)
d. promote pedagogical change
e. interpolate scientific management into administrative practices

If one asked, to what were Cubberly, Elliot and Butler reacting, the answer might be, to the broadening influence upon (if not control of) political and educational governance structures by non-WASP immigrants. Katz and Tyack have the following to say in reference to the above statement:

> The content as well as the structure of education presented a problem: how to honor minority sensibilities while inculcating the norms required for upright and orderly social living. The official response to the problem of minority sensibility was to proclaim the school religiously and politically neutral. "The great ideal" of the common school system, Horace Mann pointed out, is "that those points of doctrine, or faith, upon which good and great men differ, shall not be obtruded into this mutual ground of the schools." In practice the schools did not become neutral, as Catholic spokesmen all knew. Protestant ministers, as David Tyack has shown, played active and important roles in common-school promotion and management, and it is in fact impossible to disentangle Protestantism from the early history of the common school, which exuded an unmistakable chauvinistic pan-Protestant tone (M. Katz, 1971:37).

As early as the 1850's and 60's in Pennsylvania, concern was being expressed by industrialists over the "German-ness" of the elementary schools in Philadelphia, in terms of the teaching of German and the size of the German population in that city. Ethnic and nationalist pluralism was evident in both the governance structure and curriculum content. In 1875, the Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis gave a report to the Board of Education on ethnic pluralism and the teaching of foreign languages. The following quotes from his report will adequately describe the reasoning used to justify the inclusion of German ethnic studies in the curriculum, as well as the recruitment of ethnically German teachers and administrators;

> No public institution is established on a firm foundation so long as it is beneficial to a few only. If there is a large minority who cannot profit by it, its stability is impaired. The object of introducing German into the public schools is to make them more useful than before. To extend their influence makes them more stable than before. That the German should wish to educate his children to speak and write the language of his native land is perfectly natural (Tyack, 1973:20).
>
> Fortunately Cincinnati, where German had been taught in the public schools ever since 1840, furnished us

> with several excellent teachers, who organized classes in each of the above-named schools, and during the first year instructed 450 German children in their native tongue. At the close of that year, another committee, consisting of Messrs. John Conzelman, Charles W. Irving and Morris J. Lippman inquired into and reported on the condition of these classes. In compliance with their subsequent recommendation, German instruction was extended into the Madison and Clark Schools, and the German Department was fully organized by the creation of the office of German Assistant Superintendent, to which office Mr. Francis Berg was then elected (Tyack, 1973, Collection of Reading for Ed. 201, Stanford Univ.:23).

In terms of relative numbers of students studying German, there were 5,000 Anglo-Americans and 11,000 German-American students in 1875, out of a total enrollment of 23,000 students. If one inserted the word "Black" or "Chicano" in place of "German," one could just as effectively be quoting a strategy employed by some school systems at the primary, secondary and higher levels to institute Black studies. Thus a demand for African language instruction or history was not as radical or revolutionary as ethnocentric schoolmen tried to depict in the 1960's. As late as 1915 in Milwaukee there were Polish studies courses. Tyack furnishes us with the description below of pluralistic influences in curriculum, holy day observances, etc.:

> Progressive reforms in northern cities profoundly altered the governance of education. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, a fairly pluralistic system of control of urban schools by wards had resulted in interest group politics in which different constituencies, if they could summon power, could exercise some degree of influence over schools in their communities. Thus one found, for example, 3102 students in Milwaukee studying Polish in their elementary schools in 1915 and different ward committees in New York adjusting religious observances in their common schools to the desire of the patrons. Similarly, politically astute immigrant groups like the Irish used the schools as sources of jobs and contracts (Newby and Tyack, Journal of Negro Education, Fall, 1971:198).

We maintain, as do many political analysts and educational historians, that administrative progressivism, the theme of which was the depoliticalization of the schools, was, in effect, a disenfranchisement of all non-WASP groups. Further, the more overtly non Euro-American, the more tightly were the ethclasses regimented.

It was the use of schools as a sustenance system, i.e., as the provider of cultural reinforcement and economic support by the European immigrants that precipitated the takeover of the schools from without by the apologists for the economic dominants. Kirst states in his book The Political Web of American Schools:

> In all these reform concepts the most attractive model for organization and governance was that of the large-scale industrial bureaucracies rapidly emerging in the turn-of-the-century economy. A school board elected from the city as a whole would reflect a unitary-community perspective rather than partial-special interests. Divorced from the city political leaders, such a board would be less susceptible to graft and job favoritism. (Wirt and Kirst, 1972:7-8).

Kirst also cites Count's (1927) study of school boards which showed the negative impact of administrative progressivism on the pluralist governance structure of American urban education. This study shows that with the advent of administrative progressivism, elite occupancy of school boards increased by eighty per cent.

One does not need to wonder about pluralism in relationship to Blacks during this period of reaction against the non-W.A.S.P. Regressive reaction, backlash, or rise in rabid ethnocentrism increased with darkening hue of skin color, or the unfamiliarity of the mother tongue. Cubberly, a profound force in the development of school governance structures and teacher preparation as they exist today, had the following to say in reference to the Italians, Poles, Eastern European Jews, etc.

> These Southern and Eastern Europeans (in our cities are) of a very different type from the North and West Europeans who preceded them. Largely illiterate, docile, often lacking in initiative and almost wholly without the Anglo-Saxon conceptions of righteousness, liberty, law, order, public decency and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock and to weaken and corrupt our political life (Wirt and Kirst, 1972:6-7).

and Tyack suggests the following:

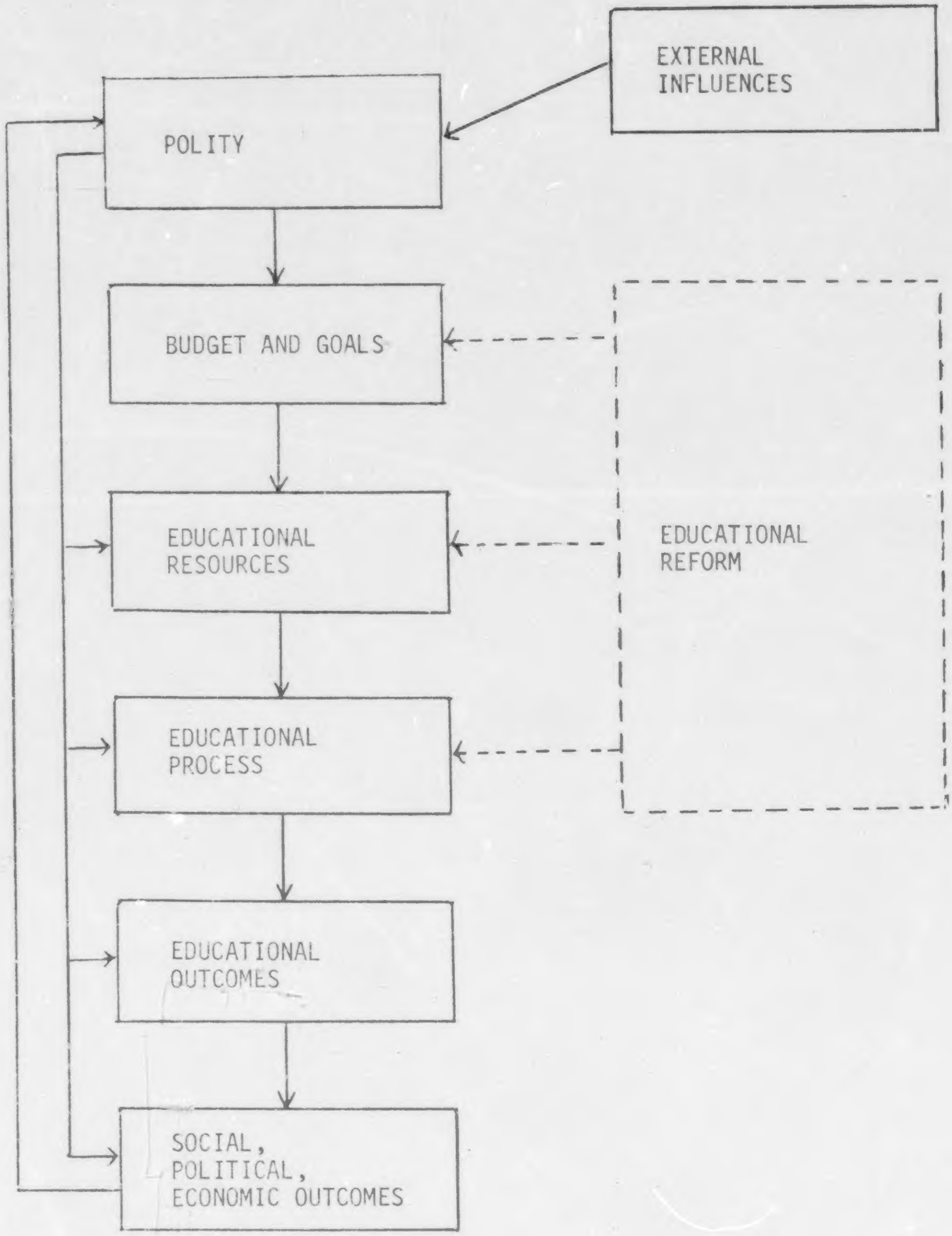
> Racism (sic) in the northern organizational revolution in those years took the more covert form of centralizing control of schools and turning them over to "experts" who accepted the inferior status of Blacks as a fact of life to which educators must adjust. While southerners proclaimed segregation as a virtue, a leading northern education statesman, Elwood P. Cubberly, wrote almost parenthetically that segregated schools might be wise for "over-aged, defective, delinquent...or...negro [sic]" children. Educational progress by-passed Blacks in the South, while in the North the attempt to "take education out of politics" reinforced institutional racism [sic] within vast urban bureaucracies. (Newby and Tyack, 1971:197).

We suggested earlier the use of Levin's model, depicted below, to explicate school outcomes. We concur with Levin's statement that, contrary to the myths of some educational philosophers, schools do not define or shape in a deterministic sense what some have called the "normative frame of reference." The schools have been shaped by the demands of the economic, social, religious and cultural subsystems. Levin suggests below:

> Emanating from the polity are a set of demands or socialization objectives for transmitting the culture and reproducing and maintaining the economic, political, and social order. These demands take the form of laws that define and affect the schools; governing relationships that will inevitably weigh the demands of some constituencies more heavily than others; and a resource or budget that will be allocated to educational activities. (Levin, 1973a:10-11).

The Levin model of a school system, in terms of outcomes, forms a common boundary with the Easton Systems Analysis model. The Easton model was used

Figure 3: The Educational Sector*


EXTERNAL INFLUENCES
POLITY
BUDGET AND GOALS
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
EDUCATIONAL PROCESS
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES
SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC OUTCOMES
EDUCATIONAL REFORM

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*Levin, 1973a, Occasional Paper 73-1, Stanford University School of Education.

to explain the decision-making process in a total political system, whereas Levin attempts to replicate this process in the educational sector. (See Figure 3, p. 64) In explaining his model, Levin has the following to say:

> Thus, in explaining educational outcomes we should be cognizant not only of the formal government policies, but also of the values and attitudes and expectations inculcated by the polity with regard to themselves and others. It is the subtle interaction among the governmental outcomes of the polity, the direct demands of government and private agencies, and the effect of the polity on the formation of individual and class values that will determine the operations and results of the educational sector. Accordingly, Figure One (see Figure 3, p. 64) shows that the influences of the polity extend not only to the determination of budget and goals; they also determine the selection of educational resources, educational processes and educational outcomes, and they determine how educational outcomes will translate into social, political and economic outcomes.
>
> In most cases the goals will not be transmitted directly, but they will be veiled in the laws, operating procedures, licensing requirements, curriculum and personnel requirements that are mandated upon the educational system (Levin, 1973:13-14).

Easton has described the process of demands and support fed into the political system which were either rejected, modified or allowed to evolve from within the quadrant "as is." The critical dilemma in the Easton model has to do with selective perception on the part of the dominant interest groups within the political system. Stress evolves within the polity when demands by an ethclass, whether Black, Chicano, Irish, or etc. are rejected. The initial response by the disenfranchised ethclasses to the nonrecognition and resolution of demands has been firstly recognized in the schools through boycotts, strikes, political agitation and acts of unsanctioned violence from a perspective of dominance. The Irish boycotted the schools until they were allowed to govern their own educational institutions. They struck factories and formed unions and vigilante groups to protect their churches, culture and economic welfare from the dominant WASP's. A sensible man would have observed this pattern of interaction in the subsystems and expected similar goals and strategies to evolve out of Black ghettoes, Indian reservations, or Chicano barrios. Levin, too, suggests that "a dynamic process of social change is constantly evident vis-a-vis the educational polity." We have shown how the dispossessed and ripped-off Blacks were assisted in various aspects of their struggles to achieve cultural and hence, psychological equilibrium, as well as economic security. However, this assistance has tended to be paternalistic. As a case in point, we refer to some of our earlier examples, e.g., the Indian college at Harvard, the academies and land-grant colleges of the South after reconstruction and which exist today in the form of institutions such as Fisk, Tuskegee, Howard, and Morgan State. However, this assistance has always been within a set of boundaries established from the outside. We do not need to review the literature on the relationship between one's perceived locus of control and psychological wholeness or disintegration. Newby and Tyack (1971) state that as soon as Black ex-slaves decided that they wanted to be inner directed and manage their own educational institutions, northern Yankee radicals became disenchanted and left. The same phenomenon of disenchantment was evidenced recently in civil and human rights organizations.*

As was stated earlier, each ethnic group, except for those that are Black or close to being so, has been allowed, after confrontation with the polity and its subsystems, to achieve "a piece of the action," to occupy niches within the governance structures of the subsystems. To be Catholic in the middle or late nineteenth century, as well as in the first three decades of itant increase in life chances (see Chapters VII and IX). Rist, in his study of Black children in an urban elementary school, showed the brutal devastation that occurs when teachers attempt to evaluate children along a nearness to "white" skin and "cultural" values. If we adopt Levin's (1973) hypothesis that the school in its social class structure is a microcosm of the larger society, we can readily draw some striking conclusions from the Rist data. The following excerpt makes the point very clear:

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*See Fanon, 1967, 68; Kardiner and Ovessey, 1962, James Baldwin in Notes of A Native Son, 1957.

> The teacher appeared to decide very early in the school year which children in her class were going to be "successful" students and which were going to be "failures." The criteria which led to her decisions seemingly included her intuitive evaluation of the child's intellectual potential as only one of a number of factors. The social contingencies of (1) physical hygiene, (2) darkness of skin, (3) social status of parents, (4) the frequency and intensity of interaction with both the teacher and other students, and (5) the ability of the child to utilize standard American English were of equal, if not greater, importance in evaluating the child's potential educatability. Those children who possessed any of the traits of poor physical hygiene, dark skin, low family status, low social interactional patterns, or infrequent use of standard American English were all evaluated by the teacher as being "slow learners."
>
> One example of the way in which social contingencies influenced the child's chances for educational achievement concerned whether the child came from a family which subsisted on public welfare. A roster of all welfare-supported children tentatively registered for the kindergarten class was supplied to the teacher before school began. Both the teacher and the school administration were then involved periodically in filing reports with the city welfare department as to the child's attendance, physical appearance, and apparent nutritional level. Also, on the official school transcript of the child, there was clearly marked in red pencil, if a child came from a home which received welfare funds, the letters "A.D.C."
>
> In the classroom at the beginning of the year, the teacher did not place a single child from a welfare home at the first table for "fast learners." Rather, two were placed at table 2 and four were placed at table 3. I believe that the teacher's stereotyped

the twentieth century, was to be relegated to the laboring class, if a job could be found. The darker the skin color, the less likely was participation in any aspect of the system. The response of many immigrant groups, including the Irish and the Italians, was to form groups to commit acts of unsanctioned violence and to form so-called underworld groups or gangs. The violence of a people is a function of the degree of disaffection with the political system. Fanon (1968:67) describes this psychological phenomenon lucidly in his psychiatric studies entitled Studies in a Dying Colonialism, and The Wretched of The Earth. Such action represents stress in the polity and can cause systemic internal-external disintegration, known internationally as an insurrection, and if sustained, a revolution. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and other immigrants in the 1700's were revolutionaries.

We have posited that a group's participation in the governance structure is a function of that group's likeness to Europeans, i.e., either through the adoption of Euro-American values and/or possessing a proximal skin color. With reference to this contention, Casteneda has the following to say:

> The exclusive Anglo-conformity view of America as a crucible into which all non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups would melt received its fullest expression during the so-called "Americanization" movement which swept the United States during World War I and carried on into the 1920's and 30's. Though the Americanization movement had more than one emphasis, essentially it was an attempt at "pressure-cooking" assimilation (Gordon, 1964); for it was a consciously articulated movement to strip the immigrant of his native culture and attachments and to make him over into an American to fit the Anglo-Saxon image. (Nimnicht, Johnson, 1973)

Kardiner and Ovessey, in their work Mark of Oppression, describe the use of acids and even lye by Blacks in the 1950's to lighten their skin, which was equivalent to a decrease in cultural and ethclass mismatch and a concom-

> impressions of how a child from a welfare home could learn was a critical variable in her relegating that child to a table for "slow learners." At no time during the remainder of the school year did the teacher ever "advance" any welfare child to a higher table. In a very real sense, the child had been "stigmatized" as a low achiever by the teacher before school ever began, again aiding in the emergence of a self-fulfilling prophecy (Rist, 1972b:249-250).

This form of dehumanization was a major factor in the arguments which persuaded the Supreme Court to make its 1954 school integration decision (see also Chapter II). However, the Rist study took place from 1967 to 1969. This latter time-frame suggests a dirth of positive outcomes from the political system and the ingrained Euro-American myth of ethnic and cultural supremacy.

Conclusions. In this chapter we have attempted to discuss the relationship between changes in the governance structure of urban school systems and cultural and political pluralism. We have suggested that within the polity there existed a set of norms and attitudes deemed prerequisite to sharing the authoritatively allocated values of society; these prerequisites were accompanied by a structure, i.e., the schools. The attitudes we have shown were ethnocentric and dehumanizing. The structure for inculcating beliefs, values and minimal skills were modified within an ethnocentric context. Participation in decision-making was a function of similarity of "skin color" and values to the Protestant European-American immigrant. From the data we analyzed and the literature we reviewed, we conclude that cultural pluralism is not a late twentieth-century phenomenon. Pressures and demands by disenfranchised ethclasses are not new, and the U.S. school systems from their inception have been political in attitude, structure, and outcome. Initially, niches were denied Irish, Jews, and Italians because they were alien to the

Protestant European-American mystique; Blacks, Chicanos, native Americans continue to be denied participation in decision-making structures of the polity with an obvious increase in ethnocentric attitudes and repressiveness. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the latter groups are deemed even more "culturally different" from the Euro-American than those immigrant groups previously mentioned. In fact, even though the Protestant Euro-American disenfranchised the immigrants in the schools through administrative progressivism, the system had not jelled completely before the immigrants had latched onto political machines in urban areas such as Boston, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco, and were able to evolve a pluralist stalemate to the extent that niches were reserved for certain immigrant groups. For instance, we strongly suggest that the Civil Service has been reserved for the immigrant groups as a form of welfare. In fact, Levine suggests in his book A History of the Social Services that the social services represented the "soft" underbelly of the economy and job market which was reserved for immigrant groups. It is not accidental that in many cities along the eastern seaboard, the Midwest and the Pacific coast, different ethnic groups occupy and control access to different civil service functions. For instance, in New York, it was alleged by Turner in The Police Establishment that the Police Department was the turf of the Irish Catholics and any other eth-class member desiring to become a policeman would do himself a favor to become Catholic. Albert Shanker and the United Federation of Teachers represent one aspect of Jewish occupation of a civil service sector. In San Francisco, the judiciary is majority Irish, while the Public Works Department is headed by Italians.

The polity has historically given its outsiders such as Euro-American immigrants groups, Blacks and Chicanos, the following treatment in the media --non-recognition, ridicule and regulation. For example, the Irish were unrecognized upon their initial immigration --that is, they lived in slums, away from the large houses of the Protestant ethclasses. Upon forced recognition, they were held up for ridicule in the press and popular literature as being dirty, criminal and immoral. Upon being "accepted" or tolerated, they were then decriminalized in the media and entered the stage of recognition known as regulation. In this stage the ethnic group's men are protrayed as guardians of the status quo and protectors of its women, thus the popularization of the dutifulness and bravery of the Irish cop. Of all contemporary television shows with Black stars or co-stars, 80% are associated with roles as spies, detectives and other regulatory functions.

We have stated that the schools were retaken, in terms of their governance structure, by the dominant Protestant groups within the polity. We alluded to the Count's study of 1927 which showed that administrative progressivism led to the complete occupation of school boards by male Protestant professionals. Even when the boards were ethnically plural in urban areas prior to the usurpation of the governance structure by professionals, the outcomes from the system were ethnocentric; the immigrants were simply schooled to become "more" like Euro-American Protestants. In this sense, the schools have certainly been conservative and apologists for the status quo. We mentioned the 1954 Supreme Court decision in its attempt to more equally distribute the input and output of the schools; on the horizon is another court decision which attempts to go beyond a simple assurance of equal access to the classroom. We refer to the Supreme Court of the State of California in its Serrano vs. Priest decision (see Chapter II). We have chosen to look at the schools in terms of the degree of pluralism operative within the governmental structure, because it was this structure which immigrants "latched onto" in order to establish some means of economic and cultural sustenance.

A peculiar irony has taken place in voting trends in urban areas during the last twenty years. Even though Blacks have reaped very few benefits from their schooling proportionate to the total percentage of students in public schools who are Black, it is Blacks and upper-class Euro-Americans who cast consistent majority votes for school bonds and school tax increases. Simultaneously, it is the lower-middle-class immigrants in the cities who cast near-majority votes against school appropriations. These conclusions were evidenced in an unpublished study of the 1970 elections in San Francisco by Kirst. We would interpret this U-shaped voting phenomenon of Blacks and upper-class Euro-Americans as a reflection of historic facts regarding education. First, Blacks have always valued learning and upper-class Euro-Americans have felt that schools served useful purposes. Second, the vote by Blacks further emphasizes their desire to use any means at their disposal to alleviate their disenfranchised status. Levin (1973a) has suggested that the poor who seek redress through the governance structure of the school system must recognize that value allocation within that sector of the polity is rigid and ethnocentric and is held by the integration of three groups; school board members and unions of administrators and teachers. It is his contention that the first goal of school boards is to minimize systemic conflict and that administrators are rewarded not for schooling (skill base) outcomes, but for "keeping the lid on the can." He says that the administrators set policy through their daily actions. According to a paradigm that Levin sets forth, consisting of five constituencies with differing goals and differential authority to allocate values (see Table II, below), the "losers" would be low-income parents and their children, because few power brokers would feel constrained to coalesce with that sector of the polity.*

Table II: Local Constituencies and the Decision for Allocating Increased Revenues from State or Federal Government

Constituency	Goal	Power	Coalition	Outcome
1 - Local Taxpayer	minimize local burden	moderate	with 4	substitution of outside for local money
2 - "Disadvantaged" Parent	improve educ. outcomes for "disadv." children	low	no	no change
3 - "Disadvantaged" Student	improve educ. environment	low	no	no change
4 - School Board	minimize conflict	high	with 6	low conflict
5 - Teachers	increase employment & job benefits	high	with 6	more employment
6 - Administrators	increase employment and minimize conflict	high	with 4 & 5	more employment low conflict

The major constituencies in Levin's model include: (1) local taxpayers, (2) parents of "disadvantaged" students, (3) "disadvantaged" students, (4) the school board, (5) teachers, and (6) administrators who would appear to have a legitimate interest in the allocation of values (and/or revenues) designated for the schooling of disadvantaged students.

Levin uses an analysis of the Title I ESEA Act of 1965 to show that his model is predictive. His analysis of a federal audit suggested that 90%

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* Levin, 1972b, Occasional Paper in the Politics of Economics of Education, Stanford University.

of the funds to support compensatory programs for the "disadvantaged" had been allocated for personnel cost. Levin further states:

> Accordingly, there is substantial information that can be drawn upon for testing the predictive power of our model for describing local expenditure allocations of Title I funds. A review of that literature suggests: (1) Title I funds were commonly used to supplant the use of local monies rather than to supplement them as the Law intended; (2) Most of the Title I funds were allocated to increasing the number of and renumeration of the educational personnel; (3) There existed very little conflict over the local utilization of Title I monies since the information dissemination and community participation provisions of the Law were consistently violated by local educational agencies; and the decisions were made by the professionals themselves...(Levin, 1972:23-24).

Levin concludes with a response to the Serrano vs. Priest decision which we maintain was an attempt to broaden the pluralistic structure of decision-making through equalizing fiscal input:

> As long as the present governing structures and political alignments prevail at the local level Serrano-type spending increases are unlikely to have much of an effect on improving the relative educational standing of children residing in the districts that will receive increased allocations from the State. In contrast, the additional funds will have a powerful effect on employment and benefits for school district personnel. In both cases the educational interests of lower class children will be forced to compete with the employment and financial interests of middle class educational professionals and the latter group will prevail. Paradoxically, a social reform carried out in the name of increasing opportunity for the poor will have its principal impact in improving the opportunities of middle-class educators.

We concur with Levin in his assertion that the governance structure of school systems must be changed if fiscal input and positive outcomes are to be more equitably distributed.

CHAPTER II

Education As A Fundamental Interest

J. W. Varnado

Introduction

Education plays an indispensable role in modern industrial societies, and must therefore mean more than student access to the classroom. This role, we believe, has two significant aspects. First, education is a major determinant of an individual's chances for economic and social success in our competitive society. Secondly, education has a unique influence on a child's development as a citizen and on his participation in political and community life. Writing about these two aspects, Judge S. Skelly Wright stated:*

> The pivotal position of education to success in American society and its essential role in opening up to the individual the central experience of our culture lend it an importance that is undeniable.

The fundamental importance of education has been recognized in other contexts by the United States Supreme Court. The Court's expression of this position came in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)** which invalidated de jure segregation by race [sic] in public schools. The Court declared:

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the Armed Forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principle instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where

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* *Hobson v. Hansen*, 269 F. Supp. 401 (1967).

** 347 U.S. 483. See also "Development in the Law-Equal Protection," 82 *Harvard Law Review*, 1065, 1129 (1969).

> the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

These twin themes, the importance of education to the individual and to society, have recurred in numerous decisions of the courts. Most recently, in San Francisco, the Court observed:[*]

> Unequal education ... leads to unequal job opportunities, disparate income, and handicapped ability to participate in the social, cultural, and political activity of our society.

It has been noted that the formal education which a young person receives is probably the most important determinant for his future. To a very significant degree, educational institutions select persons to fulfill the hierarchy of social, political and economic roles of society. The individual who receives a "better" education is in a better position to obtain the more preferable occupation and, consequently, higher earnings.

If a basic assumption could be made of the American educational system, it would be that, as an institution, it is a positive means for providing equal opportunities for persons drawn from heterogeneous backgrounds. Under this view, public schools should assure that the individual competes on an equal basis, regardless of social class, sex or ethnicity. This assertion is premised on the idea that the system of public education will create equal opportunity by providing equal educational opportunity.[**]

Yet there are few people, if any, who would seriously maintain that either equal opportunity or equal educational opportunity is a reality in our society. The present system of financing and operating the educational system leads to greater investments of resources in rich children than in the poor ones.* Non-Euro-American children still generally receive an education that is inferior to that of Euro-American children.** Further, the schools are far more effective in providing mobility and status for middle-class children than for children from low-income families. As a result, the educational attainment and occupational success of children are still positively correlated with those of their parents. In short, the promise of equal opportunity through equal education has not been kept.

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[*] *San Francisco Unified School District v. Johnson,* 3 Cal. 3d. 937 (1971).

[**] Staff of the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, 920 Congress, 20 Session, *The Costs to the Nation of Inadequate Education*. This report, prepared by Professor Henry M. Levin of Stanford University, gives an excellent analysis of the cost of inadequate education to our society in both economic and social terms.

In view of the importance of education to society and to the individual child, the opportunity to be educated by the state must be made available to all on an equal basis. For example, when children living in remote areas of California brought an action to compel local school authorities to furnish them bus transportation to class, the Court stated:***

> We indulge in no hyperbole to assert that society has a compelling interest in affording children an opportunity to attend school. This was evidenced more than three centuries ago, when Massachusetts provided the first public school system in 1647. And today an education has become the sine qua non of useful existence ...In light of the public interest in conserving the resource of young minds, we must unsympathetically examine any action of a public body which has the effect of depriving children of the opportunity to obtain an education.

Equal Protection

The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States does not require identical treatment of all persons without recognition of differences in relevant circumstances. "No State shall ...deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."* The Clause requires that:

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* Coones, Clune, and Sugerman, Education Opportunity; A Workable Constitutional Test for State Financial Structures. 57 Calif. L. Rev. 305 (1969).

** Office of Education, U. S. Dept. of Health, Educ. & Welfare, Equality of Educational Opportunity(1966). [Commonly referred to as the Coleman Report].

*** Manjares v. Newton (1966) 64 Cal. 2d. 365, 375-376.

> ...equal protection and security should be given to all under like circumstances in the enjoyment of their personal and civil rights; that all persons should be equally entitled to pursue their happiness and acquire and enjoy property; that they should have like access to the courts of the country for the protection of their persons and property, the prevention and redress of wrongs, and the enforcement of contracts; that no impediment should be interposed to the pursuits of anyone except as applied to the same pursuits by others under like circumstances; that no greater burdens should be laid upon one than are laid upon others in the same calling and condition, and that in the administration of criminal justice no different or higher punishment should be imposed upon than such as is prescribed to all for like offenses.**

The Fourteenth Amendment was not designed to interfere with the power of the State, sometimes termed its police power: to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education and good order of the people, and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the State, develop its resources and add to its wealth and prosperity. The guarantee of equal protection was aimed at undue favor and individual or class privilege, on the one hand, and at hostile discrimination, oppression and inequity, on the other. Its language applies to every person within state jurisdiction without regard to sex, race, birth or fortune.

The Equal Protection Clause is aimed only at state action; it does not apply to acts carried out by individual or federal authorities. The Clause is a guarantee only of equality before the law; this guarantee is not one of absolute equality, requiring the law to treat all persons exactly alike.

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* United State Constitution, XIV Amendment.

** Barbier v. Connolly, 113 U.S. 27, 31 (1885).

The government may recognize and act upon factual differences that exist between individuals and classes. The mere showing that different people are treated differently is not enough to show a denial of equal protection.

The original Bill of Rights does not contain any express guarantee of equality, but the Fifth Amendment contains a Due Process Clause which is binding on both the State and Federal Governments. Equal Protection and Due Process overlap. A government act that would violate the Equal Protection Clause, if taken by the State would also violate the Due Process Clause if the act were taken by the Federal Government. Between the two clauses, the State and Federal Government are bound.

State Actions

Denial of equal protection refers exclusively to state action. State action means government action whether the action is performed by state or local officials. The action of officials of state universities, for example, are interpreted as state action. In Cooper v. Aaron (1958)*, the Supreme Court held that the school board and the superintendent serve as agents of the state, for the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment. There is no governmental official, state or local, executive, legislative or judicial, that cannot act in conformity with the constitution.

As a general principle, private conduct is beyond the Equal Protection Clause. The difficulty is to determine whether action is purely private or, on the contrary, if the state is involved. Where the law compels a private person to act, the state has commanded the result. This is the clearest form of private conduct which amounts to state action. A private individual who receives assistance to discriminate by virtue of state assistance would be treated as a state agent for equal protection purposes.

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* 358 U.S. 1 at 19.

Although the Equal Protection Clause requires laws of like application to all similarly situated, the legislature is allowed wide discretion in the selection of classes. Classification will not render a state police statute unconstitutional as long as it has a reasonable basis. Its validity does not depend on scientific or marked differences in things or persons or in their relationships. That they are state police statutes suffices if they are practical.

The right to legislate implies the right to classify.* Classification is not different in law than in other departments of knowledge. It is the grouping of things together because they agree with one another. It contains particulars and differs from other things in those particulars. Classification, thus defined, is a process which is not only familiar, but necessary in all human affairs.

The right to equal protection is the right not to be treated differently from others in the community unless the differentiation in treatment is based upon a classification that is inherently reasonable. Even reasonable classification, by its nature, sets off a group affected by special burdens or benefits that do not apply to all persons.

Equal Protection and Education

The increased recognition of the importance of equal education to the individual and society has been matched in recent years by an increase in litigation with respect to alleged denials of equal education.

In 1938, the Supreme Court, in Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada (1938),** held that denial of admission to the State University Law School of a Black citizen was a violation of the Equal Protection Clause. The basic issue was not the duty of the state to supply legal training, or the quality of training supplied, but rather, "if" such training is furnished by the state, then it must be on the basis of equality of right to all residents.* Thus, any educational opportunities afforded had to be available to all.

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* Brandeis,J., dissenting in Quaker City Cab v. Pennsylvania 277 U.S. 389 (1928).

** 305 U.S. 337 (1938).

McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents,** decided in 1950, further illustrates the Court's commitment to the elimination of constitutional support for unequal education. In this case, a Black student, after having been admitted to graduate study at the University of Oklahoma, was required to sit in a row in the classroom specified for "colored students." McLaurin also had a designated table in the library, and a special table in the cafeteria. A unanimous Supreme Court held that this treatment violated the Equal Protection Clause in that it interfered with McLaurin's ability to study, to engage in discussion and exchange views with his fellow students, and, in general, to learn his profession.***

The majority of the cases concerning equal educational opportunities have usually involved access to classrooms or other procedural matters. We submit that mere access to classrooms does not provide an equal education under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. There are a number of cases that have been considered and ruled upon by the courts that have advanced this position. We will examine the landmark decisions and their importance to education. Our argument will assert the theory that in order to evaluate whether children are receiving an equal education, we need to look inside the classrooms and examine some of the substantive issues.

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* 305 U.S. at 349.
** 339 U.S. 637 (1950).
*** Id. at 641.

Desegregation

The decision of Brown v. Board of Education (1954)* amounted to a virtually definitive rejection of the "separate but equal" facilities doctrine. Relying almost entirely on findings set forth in psychological and sociological data, the Court therein unanimously concluded "that in the field of public education the doctrine...has no place; and that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" for the reason that separation of pupils based on "race" not only "generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community," but also adversely affects "the educational and mental development" of Black children (Brown v. Board of Education).** Not until May 31, 1955, did the Court indicate the manner in which this ruling was to be implemented. Refusing to command immediate compliance or to insist that compliance be attained within a fixed date, the Court stated that "a prompt and reasonable start" to the end of "racial" discrimination in public education was expected and that the ultimate objective was to be attained "with all deliberate speed."***

In making the argument for education as an historically favored interest, it is necessary to separate education from ethnicity. The presence of ethnicity tends to obscure all other issues. The Fourteenth Amendment was introduced to limit the states' interference with the rights of Blacks. This was the original interpretation of the amendment and it applied exclusively.

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* 347 U.S. 483.

** Id. at 484.

*** 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

"Racial" discrimination is based upon "racial" prejudice only, whereas discrimination in education bears a relationship to a myriad of factors. Thus, it is important to note that the cause of inequality in Brown v. Board of Education* was "race" connected, but the object of judicial concern was protection of the Court's interest in education. In McLaurin, the Court clearly stated the quality of education was of primary concern:**

> Our society grows increasingly complex and our need for trained teachers grows accordingly...Those who will come under [McLaurin's] guidance and influence must be directly affected by the education he receives. Their own education and development will necessarily suffer to the extent that his training is unequal to that of his classmates.

When we turn to school desegregation cases, the problem most closely analogous to the one we are considering here, we find a more dismal picture of what must be acknowledged to be the Court's failure rather than its success. The New York Times, in its annual educational survey for 1968, thirteen and one-half years after Brown v. Board of Education (1954),*** suggested that we were hardly any further along the line toward school desegregation than we were in 1954.

A recent suit was filed in the United States District Court of the Northern District of California involving the administering of I.Q. tests for purposes of determining whether to place Black students in classes for the Educable Mentally Retarded.****

The plaintiffs contended that they were being deprived of equal protection of the laws. In order to establish a prima facie case that such a constitutional violation had occurred, plaintiffs claimed that they had only to demonstrate that the method of classification being used by the defendants (the I.Q. test), although not one based explicitly on "race," nevertheless leads to a "racial" imbalance in the Educable Mentally Retarded classes. Thus, they rejected the traditional equal protection test, which stated that the burden is on the plaintiff to prove that no rational relationship exists between the method of classification used and the outcome of the classification (Williams v. Lee Optical Co.).* Instead, they asserted that once their prima facie case had been made, the burden of proof shifted to the defendants to demonstrate the rationality of the mode of classification. The Court advanced the position that this approach should be utilized in analyzing plaintiff's contention that the use of I.Q. tests to determine placement in Educable Mentally Retarded classes was a violation of their rights to equal protection of the laws.

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* 349 U.S. 300 (1955).

** McLaurin v. Oaklahoma State Regents, supra.

*** Brown v. Board of Education, supra.

**** Larry P., et. al., v. Wilson Riles, et. al., no. C-71 2270 RFD, United States District Court, Northern District of California (June 21, 1972).

Shifting of the burden of proof is a reflection of the strong judicial and constitutional policy against ethnic discrimination. Of all the evils the Equal Protection Clause was designed to eliminate, "racial" discrimination is the one we are most certain the drafters contemplated. Indeed, "race" has been declared by the Supreme Court to be a "suspect classification," and there is little doubt that if any school district were to classify students expli itly on the basis of race [sic] for any purpose, it would have a near impossible burden to sustain in attempting to justify it (Loving v. Virginia, (1967).** In de facto "race" classification cases where the burden has been shifted, courts have manifested this same distrust of laws which harm Blacks as an identifiable class. But since the classifications in these cases are not explicitly on the basis of "race," these courts have lightened the burden placed on defendants, and have required defendants merely to come forward with evidence that a rational relationship exists between the seemingly neutral classifications. They have not, as in the explicit "racial" classification cases, demanded that the defendants provide a compelling justification for the classification.

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* 348 U.S. 483 (1955).
** 388 U.S. 1 (1967).

Insofar as the cases which have shifted the burden of proof rely for their support on this general distrust of classification which harms Blacks as an identifiable group, the Court shifts the burden of proof to the defendants. Judge J. Skelly Wright used this justification for shifting the burden of proof in Hobson v. Hansen (1967),* a case which attacked the system of "tracking" in the Washington, D.C. school system. In Washington, D.C. there were three or four tracks, depending on the level of schooling; but in every school there was at least one track labelled "Basic." Classes in that track correspond to the Educable Mentally Retarded classes in the California Case of Larry P., et al. v. Wilson Riles, et. al.** Assignment to the "Basic" track was based primarily on the fact of scoring lower than 75 on an I.Q. test. Black students were disproportionately represented in the track. In deciding the constitutional claim that use of the I.Q. tests violated Black students' rights to equal protection of the laws, Judge Wright stated:***

> Law has a special concern for minority groups for whom the judicial branch of government is often the only hope redressing their legitimate grievances; and a court will not treat lightly a showing that education opportunities are being allocated according to a pattern that has unmistakable signs of invidious discrimination. Defendants,

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* 269 F. Supp. 401 (1967).
** No. C-71 2270 RFD, Supra.
*** Hobson v. Hansen, supra.

> therefore, have a weighty burden of explaining why the poor and the Negro [sic] should be those who populate the lower ranks of the track system.

A court applying the Hobson doctrine must necessarily resolve such disputed issues of educational policy as whether integration by "race" or class is more desirable; whether compensatory programs should have priority over integration; and whether equalization of physical facilities is an efficient means of allocating available resources for the purpose of achieving overall equal opportunity. Thus, there is a serious danger that judicial prestige will be committed to ineffective solutions and that expectations raised by Hobson-like decisions will be disappointed. This is because the Hobson doctrine can be criticized for its unclear basis in precedent, its potentially enormous scope, and the imposition of responsibilities on the judiciary rather than on the legislature.

The question to be faced here is whether the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment compels a state to afford equal educational outcomes to all students attending the public schools within its domain without regard to where they live, the wealth of their local community, or that community's desire to spend its assets on public education. Perhaps, if law were the science that some of its purveyors claim it to be, an unequivocal response could be forthcoming. Our prediction is that sooner or later the Supreme Court will affirm the proposition that a state is obligated by the Equal Protection Clause to afford equal educational opportunity to all of its public school students.

At a minimum, education makes the casting of a ballot more meaningful. More significantly, it is likely to provide the understanding of and the interest in public issues which are the spur to involvement in other civic and political activities.

The need for an educated populace assumes greater importance as the problems of our diverse society become increasingly complex. The U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly recognized the role of public education as a unifying social force and the basic tool for shaping domestic values. The public school has been termed:

> The most powerful agency for promoting cohesions among a heterogeneous democratic people...at once the symbol of our democracy and the most persuasive means for promoting our common destiny.*

It is our contention that education serves distinctive and priceless functions in our society and compels our treating it as a "fundamental interest" (Palmer v. Thompson, 1971).** In Serrano v. Priest (1971), the California Supreme Court recognized the role education plays in American society.***

> The distinctive and priceless function of education in our society warrants, indeed compels, our treating it as a fundamental interest.

However, the Supreme Court has not put forward a formula which lists all the essential ingredients of what constitutes a fundamental interest: the two elements which are given foremost consideration are the severity of the detriment to the individual and the importance of the interest in the over-all context of a system based on democratic values.

It is within this context that education as a fundamental interest must be considered. The fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has never explicitly declared education to be a fundamental interest capable of evoking strict scrutiny on its own (i.e., without any suspect classification to help tip the scales) does not defeat the validity of the position. The increasing importance of education is undeniable; the California Supreme Court has held education to be a fundamental interest in Serrano v. Priest.* The Serrano Court offered no expressed authority for defining education as a fundamental interest.

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* McCollum V. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203,216,231 (Frankfurter, F., concurring), (1948).

** 39 U.S. L. Week 4759 (1971).

*** Serrano v. Priest, 487 P. 2d. 1241 (1971).

Where a classification is based on suspect criteria or affects a fundamental interest, a different standard of review is invoked. Here the courts subject the classification to the most rigid scrutiny. Thus the strongest position obtainable to allege a denial of equal protection is state action which affects the fundamental interest of a member of a suspect class. But these three elements taken together do not necessarily constitute a denial of equal protection. The strict scrutiny test imposes upon the state the burden of showing that the discrimination is necessary to promote a "compelling state interest."** The traditional test to determine whether a state action is justified is the "rational relationship test;" this is, of course, a much easier test than strict scrutiny. Therefore the burden placed on the state to justify its action is minimal.***

We assert the position that in the coming years, the courts will have to look inside of the classrooms in order to ascertain whether there are educational inequities. We submit that the courts will have to take a look at such phenomena as I.Q. testing as a method of academic placement, teacher expectations, social, cultural and economic backgrounds of child incumbents of the classroom, as well as the teachers. In short, as in Brown v. Board of Education (1954),**** the courts will probably have to consider and evaluate psychological and sociological data rather than legal precedent to decide cases and resolve issues in the field of education as they take place in the classroom.

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* Id. at 498, 499.
** Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Comm. McGrath 341 U.S. 162, 163 (1951).
*** 5 Cal. 3d 584, 96 Ca. Rptr. 601 (1971).
**** Brown v. Board of Education, supra.

A Case in Point

In a California case filed June 21, 1972,* the plaintiffs brought an action in the United States District Court alleging that Black children were being placed in Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR) classes as a result of scores on I.Q. tests.** The plaintiffs claimed that they were not mentally retarded and that they had been placed in EMR classes on the basis of tests which were biased against the culture and experience of Black children as a class, in violation of their Fourteenth Amendment rights. The plaintiffs presented evidence in the form of affidavits from certain Black psychologists that when they were given the same I.Q. tests, but with special attempts by psychologists to establish rapport with the test-takers to overcome plaintiffs' defeatism and easy distraction, to reword items in terms more consistent with plaintiffs' cultural background, and to give credit for nonstandard answers which nevertheless showed an intelligent approach to problems in the context of that background, plaintiffs scored significantly above the cutoff point of 75.

Standardized I.Q. tests related to subject matter solely in the dominant culture and were established solely by testing members of that culture. The Stanford-Binet Test, for example, was standardized in 1937 by testing 3,184 subjects, all of whom were native-born Euro-Americans. The test was partially restandardized in 1960, but the restandardization again did not take into account ethnic group difference. The WISC (Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children), which was administered to plaintiffs by the defendant school district, was constructed in 1950 by testing 2,200 persons, again Euro-American children. There has been no restandardization. Such tests obviously do not properly test the I.Q. of Black children and are therefore a wholly improper basis upon which to make a decision that these children should be put in EMR classes.

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* See No. C-71 2270 RFP.

** No. C-71 2270 RFP. supra.

It is well documented that I.Q. scores are a highly untrustworthy measure of the learning ability of children from ethnic minority groups.* A recent study by Jane Mercer (1971)** showed that ninety percent of Black children classified as mentally retarded are normal in social behavior, their ability to hold steady jobs and to lead normal lives as adults.

Between October, 1970 and March, 1971, plaintiffs were independently retested by Black psychologists, licensed by the State of California to perform such tests. These testers were from the same cultural background as plaintiffs and utilized certain testing techniques designed to account for the cultural experience of plaintiffs. On retesting plaintiffs, scores ranged from 79 to 104, every one of them above the maximum (75 in the San Francisco Unified School District) set by defendants as a ceiling for placement in EMR classes. In fact, plaintiffs achieved "full scale" (combined verbal and performance) I.Q. scores ranging from 17 to 38 points higher than they received when tested by school psychologists. This retesting clearly indicates the impact which cultural factors, choice of language and rapport with the tester had upon plaintiffs' ability to perform well on the tests. The retesting also points out the invalidity of testing procedures used by defendants in screening, evaluating and placing Black children in such classes.

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* Sarason, Gladwin, and Masland (1958); Anastasi (1968); Neff (1938); Hurley (1969); Davis and Eells (1958) et al.
** Dr. Jane Mercer (1971).

Cultural Mismatch

The statistics from the San Francisco Unified School District demonstrated graphically the invalidity and illegality of their methods of screening, evaluating and placing plaintiffs and other Black children into Educable Mentally Retarded programs. The most recent statistics available in the Special Education Office of the San Francisco Unified School District indicate that more than 60 per cent of all children in the Educable Mentally Retarded program are Black, with the greatest disparity at the elementary level (66 per cent Black). By contrast, the proportion of Black children in the school district is only 28.5 per cent.*

The statewide figures show an even greater disparity. Although Blacks comprise only 9.1 per cent of school children in the state of California, they represent 27.5 per cent of children in programs for the mentally retarded.**

The plaintiffs and other Black school children in California's elementary schools are not less intelligent than their Euro-American, Anglo-Saxon counterparts. Therefore, the conclusion to be drawn from this highly disproportionate state of affairs is inescapable. The defendants, by their improper methods of evaluation and placement (see Chapter IV), have caused a statewide segregation of Black school children.

The right of every child to an equal education is fundamental in California. Article 9, Section 5 of the California Constitution states in part:***

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* Selected Data for Study in the Challenge to Effect A Better Racial Balance in the San Francisco Public School District, (1970-1971).

** Bureau of Intergroup Relations, State Department of Education, Racial and Ethnic Survey of California Public Schools, Fall 1970.

*** Article 9, Section 5, California Constitution.

> The Legislature shall provide for a system of common schools by which a free school shall be kept up and supported in each district at least six months in every year...

The provisions of the Education Code of the State of California place the duty to maintain schools and classes on the governing board of the local school districts* and said Code further requires that school boards insofar as possible maintain their schools "with equal rights and privileges."**

In addition, the Civil Rights Act of 1871 provides in part for legal action to accrue both in law and in equity for any person against whom any action has been taken under color of state law which is discriminatory in nature based upon "race" or "color."*** The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides for the establishment of certain regulations which were in fact published in the Federal Register of March 23, 1968.**** The regulations provide that each school district "has an affirmative duty to take prompt and effective action to eliminate...discrimination based upon...race [sic] or national origin, and to correct the effects of past discrimination."***** The regulation further requires equal opportunity in available classes, curricula, school activities, teachers, facilities and textbooks. The Civil Rights Act and the Regulations published thereunder reaffirm federal policy under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution to require of all the states equal educational opportunity for all citizens regardless of "race" or "color."

The State of California authorizes separate classes for mentally retarded children under the State Education code.* These classes provide children minimum training in reading, spelling and mathematics. They also teach children body care and cleanliness, how to slice meat, how to fold a piece of paper diagonally, and how to chew and swallow food. Section 6902 of the California Education Code** states that such classes should be designed "to make them [the children] economically useful and socially adjusted." Placement in one of the classes is tantamount to a life sentence of illiteracy and public dependency. The stigma that attaches from such placements causes ridicule from other children and produces a profound sense of inferiority and shame in the child. It is therefore of paramount importance that no child be placed in such a class unless it is clear beyond reasonable doubt that he suffers from an impairment of ability to learn.

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* California Education Code, Secion (5011).

** Id. at Section (5015).

*** 42 U.S.C. Section 1981 and 1983.

**** Volume 33, No. 58, page 4950.

***** Id. at Section (6).

Black children are victims of a testing procedure which fails to recognize their unfamiliarity with the Euro-American cultural background and which ignores the learning experience which they may have had in their homes. Black children in this case have been subjected at various times in the past to a variety of so-called intelligence (I.Q.) tests which place a heavy emphasis on verbal skills and which fail to properly account for their home experience or environment.

The California Public School establishment defended the placement of Black children in the Educable Mentally Retarded classes on the basis that the I.Q. tests were not the only factors involved in the selection process. The United States District Court issued an order restraining the school system in San Francisco and the State of California from using I.Q. as a primary factor in placing such children in the Educable Mentally Retarded classes.

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* California Education Code, Section 6901 et. seq.
** Id. at Section 6902.

The fact that adaptive behavior tests and teacher evaluations are considered in conjunction with I.Q. test scores in determining whether to place a child in an EMR class need not preclude the finding that I.Q. test scores loom as a most important consideration in making assignments to EMR classes. The school district's contention that I.Q. tests were not responsible for the racial imbalance in EMR classes because parental consent is a necessary prerequisite to placement in such classes can be analyzed similarly. Clearly, if fully-informed parental consent is sought in every case, the plaintiffs would have nothing to complain about. However, parents are likely to be overawed by scientific-sounding pronouncements about I.Q., and if their decisions whether to provide their consent are so colored by I.Q. results, then the I.Q. tests again appear as the prime determinants of EMR placement. Furthermore, if the I.Q. tests are found in fact to be biased against the culture and experience of Black children, any consent which is obtained from the parents of such children without communication of full information to that effect is not effective consent.

Conclusion

After almost two decades of judicial involvement in the quest for more equal educational opportunity, the basic problems remain untouched. No court decisions to date have gone to the heart of the problem of providing a better education for a given child in a particular classroom, a better teaching situation for most teachers, or a more responsive school administration for most parents. The increasing involvement of the judiciary in the issues of "racial" integration, resource allocation and nonpublic school aid have done little to provide more educational opportunities for the children. We now turn to a discussion of that facet of the larger problem area.

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL PLURALISM IN EDUCATION

Dorothy Clement and James A. Johnson, Jr.

In the 1960's the role of education in relation to minority groups came into prominence with the initiation of the "war on poverty." The relationship between the schools and the job market was cited as a crucial one for breaking the poverty cycle and the task at hand was identified as raising the educational achievement of children from low-income families so as to assure their future in procuring good jobs. This focus by the federal government made noticeable the question of why lower-income children do badly in school.

Debate over the supposed primary factors certainly preceded the 1960's. However, during that period, the volume of published material increased greatly. Probably at the onset, the two major positions had to do with: 1) inferior intelligence due to heredity (usually applied to Black people, but also to lower-income children--see Nimnicht et al, 1973) and 2) "cultural deprivation." The first, of course, posits that the inherited potential of Black children, on the average, is lower than that of Euro-Americans, on the average. A well-known proponent of this approach is Arthur Jensen, who contends that lower-than-average performance on intelligence tests by minority groups (particularly Blacks) in comparison with whites may reflect relative abilities; and that the contribution of heredity (nature) versus environment (nurture) may account for the overwhelming proportion of cognitive ability (Jensen, 1969; 1971).* As phrased by the physical anthropologist, Brace:

> With all the statistics and pro-forma academic phraseology

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* For additional proponents of biological deficiency, see Shockley, 1971; and Herrnstein, 1973.

> stripped away, he [Jensen] believes that Blacks are stupider than Whites and that the difference is genetically determined (1971:1).

The second position referred to under the rubric "cultural deprivation" attributes causality to the prior-to-school or home environments of many children who do poorly in school. The home environments of many children from low-income families are posited to be inhibitory or inferior for cognitive development.* This explanation--"cultural deprivation"--is the one upon which subsequent federal programs (generally encompassed under the heading of "compensatory education") were predicated. Since that time, a great deal of research and theorizing has been devoted to this factor.

The arguments of cultural deprivationists, like those of Jensen and others who posit biological deficiencies, have come under criticism.**

Primarily these criticisms have not argued against the existence of significant differences between 1) the home environments of children from low-income families versus middle- and upper-income, Euro-American children or 2) the linguistic repertoires, behavioral patterns, responsiveness to certain types of motivational and behavioral control techniques used in the school, or information and skill repertoires (as indicated by standardized achievement and intelligence tests) possessed by Euro-American children versus non-Euro-American children upon entry into school. Rather, the criticisms have focused upon the interpretation or labeling of these differences in relationship to the schooling experience.* Generally, the arguments have been that these differences have been interpreted erroneously as evidence of deficient or subnormal development. Wax and Wax (1971), reporting upon ethnographic research carried out on a Sioux reservation, provide an example of this disagreement in interpretation:

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* See, for example, Hunt, 1964; Riessman, 1962; Helmuth, 1967; concerning language development, see Frost and Rowland, 1970; Bernstein, 1961; Gordon and Lally 1969; for a historical account of the use of the concept, see Friedman, 1970.

** See, for example, articles included with Jensen's article in the 1969 Spring issue of Harvard Educational Review; Brace et al, 1971.

> The status of the Sioux as being lower caste was so conspicuously visible among the educators that we singled out one of its manifestations for analysis under the label of "The Vacuum Ideology." The reference is to the experimental background of the Sioux child, for the educators, especially the administrators, did not regard this child as participating in a distinctive culture and society but, instead, as lacking in those preschool experiences that distinguish the desirable kind of pupil. Judging by the experiences that were listed, the ideal pupil would have been of urban middle-class, Protestant (and white) background, and, insofar as the Sioux pupil lacked those particular experiences, it was not that he had had others but that he was deficient. Since his parents had not read Peter Rabbit to him, he lacked familiarity with stories; and since they did not sing Anglo-Saxon lullabies to him, he lacked familiarity with music. The same ideology is also prevalent among educators confronting children of urban lower-class and ethnic backgrounds.
>
> Subsequent experience has convinced us that many educators are passionately attached to the notion that their disprivileged or poor pupils come to them with empty minds that must be filled before they can compete with youngsters from "the usual middle-class home." Nevertheless, they withdraw in horror from the suggestion that a denial of experience constitutes a denial of socialization or human development. That a little child might not respond warmly to a teacher who sees him and his family as empty vessels does not occur to them (1971:6).**

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* See, for example, Labov, 1970; Fantini and Weinstein, 1968; Cohen, 1969; 1971; Baratz and Baratz, 1969; Cazden, 1970; Cole et al, 1971.

** See also Clement and Johnson, 1973; and Nimnicht et al, 1973.

And with respect to research, particularly that dealing with language, an example of different interpretations can be taken from Labov:

> In this area [of language] the deficit theory appears as the concept of verbal deprivation. Negro [sic] children from the ghetto [sic] area are said to receive little verbal stimulation, to hear very little well-formed language, and as a result are impoverished in their means of verbal expression. They cannot speak complete sentences, do not know the names of common objects, cannot form concepts or convey logical thoughts.
>
> Unfortunately, these notions are based upon the work of educational psychologists who know very little about language and even less about Negro [sic] children. The concept of verbal deprivation has no basis in social reality. In fact, Negro [sic] children in the urban ghettos [sic] receive a great deal of verbal stimulation, hear more well-formed sentences than middle-class children, and participate fully in a highly verbal culture. They have the same basic vocabulary, possess the same capacity for conceptual learning, and use the same logic as anyone else who learns to speak and understand English (Labov, 1970:153-4).

Generally, critics of the "cultural deprivation" and "biological deficit" points of view, such as the above quoted authors, bring into question on the basis of studies of linguistic patterns, child-rearing practices, and so forth, the labeling of divergent practices and patterns as inferior or as indicating subnormal development when the standards of comparison and the tests for competence are in fact largely cultural conventions. Rather than labeling linguistic patterns found among Black English speakers as errors in speaking the dialect of English referred to as Euro-American English, for example, they argue that these "errors" may in fact conform to rules incorporated by the dialect and are labeled "non-standard" not because of linguistic disadvantages, but because of the historical relationships between Euro-Americans and Blacks in this country with respect to control.

This additional information presented by researchers from a variety of fields has developed into a point of view known as "cultural difference" as opposed to the "biological deficit" and "cultural deprivation" arguments.

Arguments concerning cultural difference have been developed primarily as a set of criticisms of the assumptions and measuring instruments used in research which support the points of view described above. As such, there has been less systematic attention to the question of how cultural differences affect nonEuro-American children in school. This failure (to systematically study how these differences affect the nonEuro-American child's school experience) has undermined the strength of the concept, according to Valentine (1971). He argues that in the day-to-day operation of the schools, attributing problems with nonEuro-American children to cultural difference has not altered attitudes appreciably, and that in fact "cultural differences" has merely replaced the label "culturally deprived." As Valentine says:

> On the contrary, we would predict that the respect for subcultural systems as legitimate human creations, which is communicated with the difference model, will be accorded no more than lip service. Meanwhile the descriptive and analytical core of the model will continue to be used as one more excuse for educational failure (1971:146).

Bearing out Valentine's contentions, though not, perhaps, expressing the emphasis as strongly as Valentine suggests, Brookover and Erickson (1969) seem to imply that because of cultural differences, nonEuro-American children cannot learn the things the school has to teach:

> The culturally or educationally disadvantaged [sic] are therefore simply composed of the children from sub-societies in which the kinds of behavior most appropriate for school learning have not been learned. Such disadvantages [sic] are found among several sub-cultural [sic] categories. In all of these, the particular sub-societies [sic] have a highly developed and complex sub-culture [sic] which is functional for the situation in which the children live. They are, however, generally

> disadvantaged [sic] in the typical American school. The language, vocabulary, and other kinds of behavior patterns they acquire in their subcultures do not facilitate the school learning objectives [emphasis ours] (1969:55-56).

To circumvent the recasting of cultural differences as modified deficiency, Valentine suggests a concept which incorporates the idea of some differences, but focuses upon additional features. The concept of "biculturation" as offered by Polgar (1960) to account for his findings concerning an Indian community and as adopted by Valentine, includes the notion that members of a group may learn to interact with members of a different group on much the same basis as the "native" members of that group, at least in some range of settings, while still maintaining activity in their own group as a "native" member of that group. In other words, as Polgar observed, the Mesquakie capability of transacting settings and encounters in a manner considered acceptable by Euro-American employers as factory workers, for example, was not mutually exclusive with capability to transact tribal religious ceremonies in a manner considered acceptable by other Mesquakie. To some extent, all the young males were bicultural, though some were variously proficient in one "subculture" or the other or both.

Valentine also points out two additional problems or misemphases suggested by the cultural difference model for Black behavior, namely: 1) failure to recognize variations or "subcultural" differences among ethnic group members; and 2) the implication that nonEuro-Americans cannot or do not learn to transact Euro-American institutions (do not become "biculturated," or knowledgeable concerning the Euro-American "subculture" as well as their own "subculture"). Borrowing the term from Polgar, Valentine suggests that a "biculturation" model of Black behavior is more appropriate than a difference model, primarily because it does not omit reference to within-group variation and simultaneaus acquisition of Euro-American as well as nonEuro-American patterns.*

The Role of Cultural Difference in Formal Education

Neither the Polgar nor the Valentine article is addressed specifically to schooling, nor have most of those who have utilized the cultural difference model to reinterpret school outcomes (otherwise explained by deficit models), approached the problem area in a systematic fashion.** The role of cultural difference in formal education is a frontier of research on problems associated with nonEuro-American education.

While the concept of cultural difference has been undergoing refinement and development, a small number of studies have been conducted in the classroom concerning school response to nonEuro-American children. Particularly, the research of Fuchs, 1969; Leacock, 1969; Rist, 1970; 1972b; Waheb, 1972, might be mentioned. Essentially, the findings of these studies suggest that school response to behaviors associated with ethnic and social class may be an important factor in producing negative educational outcomes for nonEuro-American children.

Other researchers (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Brophy and Good, 1970) have devoted attention to a variable identified as teacher "expectations" which refers to teacher estimates of relative abilities of students.*** The model being developed consists of a series of steps in which teacher expectations are communicated to students via different or unequal treatments (Rist, 1972b, has identified one manifestation of treatment as social distance) which results in differing opportunities for performance on the part of students.

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* See also review of Valentine's position by Herzog, 1971.

** Rist, 1970; 1972b, an exception, has addressed attention to this problem.

*** "Expectations" as used in social science has a number of diverse meanings. Among these multiple referents, the term has been used in connection with role analysis. Expectations about behavior associated with a role is referred to in

Taken together, these research efforts suggest that an important aspect of the impact of cultural differences in formal education lies with the response that these cultural differences incur on the part of teachers and other school staff.*

These relatively new research developments lead to the conclusion that with respect to nonEuro-American education, factors other than those which are usually researched should receive more attention. Lower-income and non Euro-American children, from the orientation of this paper, are not "abnormal" or "deficient," but normal children who face a schooling situation predicated upon a cultural base partially incongruent with that in which they have been reared. The problem, then, is not to discover "deficiencies" that the children have, but rather interactions among home and school cultures which affect educational outcomes for these children.

From that point of view, it is necessary to focus upon the home experiences and learning that the child brings to school and continues to be exposed to throughout his school years. That portion of the child's life, then, becomes an important area for study rather than a factor in the formula which is viewed simply as either positive or negative.

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this paper as "role expectations" to mark it off from "expectations" as used to refer to acquired anticipatory reactions concerning quality of performance of either self or others. "Role expectations" includes the content of the expected behavior (e.g., students raise their hands if they wish to speak; students tend to become interested in cars once they near the licensing age), while "expectations" focuses upon beliefs about quality of performance of one actor relative to another (e.g., students who have attended kindergarten do better than those who have not; Johnny did well on the last math test, he will do well on this one). Both role analysis and expectation states theory, of course, have a number of dimensions which are further elaborated elsewhere. For role analysis, see, for example, Charters: 788-794. For further elaboration on expectation states theory, see Chapter VI and X of this paper.

* Formalization of an expectation states model has received considerable attention from a number of researchers including Berger et al, 1966, and intervention techniques for altering student expectation have been researched by E. Cohen 1968, 1970; Entwisle and Webster, 1973.

It should be emphasized at this point that "home" is used in the context of this paper in contrast with "school." "School" experiences are those which the child encounters in the structure(s) or on the grounds where he receives formal education and/or via his inclusion in activities or events structured by or sought out by school personnel. "Home" experiences refer to that set of experiences which the child encounters in the house where he usually sleeps, in his neighborhood, and/or via his inclusion in activities or events structured by or sought out by his relatives and/or neighborhood friends.*

This is a much broader context than is frequently assumed in studies of "home life" of children which refer to a restricted view focusing upon the material goods to be found and the events which occur in the physical structure where the child sleeps. Neither is the concept restricted in focus to the members of the child's nuclear family. This broad context is especially important in the case of nonEuro-American life-styles where home and family may not be circumscribed along the same dimensions as are those of Euro-American, middle-income families. In discussing input sources for language learning, Ward (1971), for example, presents a case for a broad purview:

> Few family systems in the world are so constructed that the child is exposed almost exclusively to his mother's speech. The American middle class has this type of isolated, nuclear family. The initial research on language acquisition, perhaps as an artifact of the data, tended to give major emphasis to the role of the mother in language socialization. From information collected from field workers in a symposium on communicative competence (Slobin 1968:9-13), only the Mayan family system, of those considered, exhibited the same characteristics as the American nuclear family. Here, as in the American middle-class home, the mother is the chief source of input. For the Koya of India, the Lou of Kenya, and the Polynesians of American Samoa, the most important source of input to children was from peers, siblings, and the members of an extended family (1971:55).

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* Obviously, this includes exposure to media such as television, movies and radio.

From her ethnographic study of communication in relation to children in a small, rural Black community of Louisiana, Ward (1971) summarizes that the children acquire linguistic competence in the community dialect in a way markedly different from that assumed to be the case for Euro-American, middle-income children. Her hypothesis based on observation is that for these rural Black children, listening to conversations between adults (across the wide range of adult behavior to which the children are exposed) coupled with peer-group linguistic interaction, provides much of the input for linguistic development.

Using the broad definition of home, "cultural congruence" between the home and the school, then, refers to the amount of agreement between the general style of interpersonal relations and related attitudes, the values, orientations, attitudes, role definitions, and patterns of behavior viewed as acceptable and appropriate by the adults of the home environment versus adults of the school environment. Incongruities include conflicts between what is expected or valued behavior in a given situation. Patterns for communicating respect, for example, may differ between "subcultures." In a situation where children of one group attend schools geared to the culture of another group, it might be anticipated that the school personnel would expect a different pattern of showing respect than the children had learned and might, in fact, misinterpret a child's attempts to show respect. Fuchs (1969), for example, makes the following observations concerning a teacher's report of a "behavior problem" in her classroom:

> Roger's silence is interpreted by his teacher as insolence and disobedience, yet silence in the presence of an adult can mean precisely the opposite-a mark of respect given by a Puerto Rican child to an adult (1969:54).

Another aspect of United States schools frequently mentioned as conflicting with the values of some nonmainstream, Euro-American groups is emphasis on and encouragement of competitive behavior. Hostetler and Huntington (1971), for example, point out that the valued Amish traits of humility, simple living, and resignation to the will of God, conflict with competitive goals fostered by the school which underscore appeal to self-interest and self-importance. A negative regard for competitive behavior may also characterize some American Indian groups. Leacock (1973), for example, contends:

> True cultural insight enables us to see behind superficial, socially patterned differences to the full integrity of an individual. It prevents us from misinterpreting behavior different from that to which we are accustomed. To take an example from American Indian culture, people working with Indian children have found that they often do not respond well to teaching techniques that depend on the desire to do better than one's peers on a test, to answer a question more capably, in short to compete successfully. Where Indian societies have retained roots with the past they are still pervaded by a cooperative spirit, and children feel uncomfortable in competitively structured situations, at least insofar as learning is concerned. This is often misinterpreted as a lack of desire to learn, but an awareness of cultural differences reveals that the motivation for learning is present, but that it is being inhibited rather than encouraged by teaching practices foreign to Indian culture (1973:190).

"Culture conflict" (Fuchs, 1969; Ward, 1971) or "cultural discontinuities" (Hostetler and Huntington, 1971), as the problem underlying such encounters has been interpreted, include both the aspect of conflicting expectations and the aspect of negative evaluation for failure to perform "correctly."

The concept of cultural congruence, where children are exposed to an educational system with a cultural basis to some extent contradictory to the one in which they have been reared, should not be confused with rather abrupt transitions or exposure to new settings that take place regularly in some societies between age-related statuses or stages in the life cycle. Beals et al (1967) describe such a transition in the following:

> Every society creates some discontinuities in the experience of the individual as he or she grows up. It seem impossible to move from the roles appropriate to childhood to the roles appropriate for adulthood without some discontinuity. Societies differ greatly in the times of discontinuity, and its abruptness. The first major break for Azu, the Palauan boy,

> was at five years of age. In Ulithi the major break occurs at the beginning of young adulthood (1967:147-8).

To illustrate this point they quote the following:

> The mild concerns of ordinary life begin to catch up with the individual in the early years of adulthood and he can never again revert to the joyful indifference of his childhood.
>
> Attaining adulthood is marked by a ritual for boys and another for girls, neither of which is featured by genital operations. . . .
>
> The outstanding consequence of the boy's ritual is that he must now sleep in the men's house and scrupulously avoid his postpubertal sisters. Not only must he not sleep in the same house with them, but he and they may not walk together, share the same food, touch one another's personal baskets, wear one another's leis or other ornaments, make or listen to ribald jokes in one another's presence, watch one another doing a solo dance, or listen to one another sing a love song (Lessa, William A. Ulithi. A Micronesian Design for Living. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1966, pp. 101-102).

Beals *et al* (1967) suggest, in relation to the Palauan culture, that the abrupt transition undergone by children at age five or so may, in fact, promote the development of certain attitudes toward emotional attachments that are widely held among adults. They say (p. 144), "the discontinuity, the break with the way things were in his fifth year of life is in itself a technique of cultural transmission." In other words, discontinuities between stages of the life cycle, though providing a source of tension for the child, may, in fact, be important in the transmission of attitudes and emotional development characteristic of the members of that group.

Relative to schooling in this country, it is felt that there are numerous discontinuities between the home and the school. Some of the possible discontinuities that have been suggested (see Dreeban, 1968, for example) include:

a. Unitary nature of the home as opposed to the organizationally multiple-leveled structure of the school.

b. Continuing social relationships of the home as compared with transient, time-bound relationship in the school.

c. The different ratio of adults to nonadults in the schools and the home.

d. The contrast between individual and particularistic relationships in the home or groups and universalistic relationships in the school.

e. The relatively wide range of activities available to the child in the home vis-a-vis the more narrowly defined range of activities at school.

f. The highly affective nature of the home as opposed to the highly task-oriented or didactic environment of the school.

Though these points are possibly not relevant to all students, obviously not equally applicable to all ethclasses, and are debatable at least in the case of the assumed universalistic nature of relationships in the school,* there is no doubt that in this country the school is different from the home for all children and that almost all children are under stress to make some sort of adaptation to the new situation when they enter school for the first time.

Dreeban suggests that adaptation to schooling is primarily an augmentation of the socio-psychological repertoire of the child, in that the school can be viewed as a functionally parallel, but structurally different setting in which the child operates. According to Dreeban:

> School does, however, put demands on pupils to give up, in certain situations, principles and patterns of behavior they have come to accept as family members; more precisely, it requires them to restrict the premises governing family life to conduct among kinsmen, and to adopt others - new, strange, and even painful - that apply to settings outside the family. At the outset, schooling may provide but few of the gratifications of family life, and then in attenuated form, until the pupils discover sources of gratification in schooling itself, an outcome by no means universal or inevitable (1968:35).

Many children, of course, learn to interact in settings not based strictly upon kin relations, e.g., neighborhood peer-group, church, the neighborhood store, long before they begin school. Attendance in school may be viewed as the beginning of a transition for the child or simply an additional setting which he must learn to transact. Both cases are transitional periods for children which are dealt with conventionally by members of a society, and as such are conceptually different from what is here referred to as cultural congruence.

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* See section on hypothesized bases for teacher expectation in Chapter VI.

In situations where abrupt transitions take place, it might be expected that adult responses are geared to training based upon the child's prior experiences so that typical problems can be dealt with functionally. That is, the responses are ordered so that the desired transitions are made. In cases of cultural incongruence, on the other hand, the responses of adults are not based upon anticipation of problems because of a lack of understanding of the child's background, so that the child's problems with the transition are viewed as evidence of deficiency rather than as a legitimate or valid difficulty that can be overcome through some means incorporated into the transition.

In a case of cultural incongruence, then, an important aspect is the failure of the involved adults to respond to the difficulties of the child in a functional manner. Instead, the encounters between the child and the receiving system are fraught with misinterpretations which have an untoward outcome. A particularly poignant example comes from a case study of one child researched by Valentine (1971), in which a child's behavior was regarded as abnormal, with the result that the child was defined as mentally ill and efforts were made to commit the child involuntarily to a state mental hospital.

The focus upon the role of cultural differences in the process of formal education, then, depends upon a framework for viewing the interaction between home and school cultures, and the effect on the individual child. The following discussion describes such a framework.

Framework

As a child becomes socialized, he acquires, extends and develops a cognitive system, a device for classifying his environment, evaluating various states of that environment, predicting what the outcomes of various behavioral possibilities will be on that environment, and ultimately selecting a course of action.* It is through these systems that he is either able or unable to adequately interpret the behavior of others and to generate behavior which is judged to be appropriate by significant others. For the purposes of this paper, we would like to refer to this as yet loosely defined concept of acquired "cognitive system" or "cognitive mapping" as "experience base." In another paper (Johnson and Clement, 1973) the experience base has been defined as a relatively stable set of codes, values, skills, information, beliefs and behavior which is used by the individual in interpreting and interacting with his environment. What the individual notices about the environment, how he interprets what is occurring around him, what particular things meet his needs, how he expresses himself, how he approaches problems, the language he speaks, and the nonverbal cues to which he is sensitive are all components of his experience base.

Acquisition of this experience base is an ongoing process which takes place through encounters and transactions that the child has with his environments, particularly through those individuals with whom he has contact. A child develops his experience base in a social and cultural context as mediated, or interpreted through the behavior of significant others with whom he interacts.

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* Description paraphrased from Kay, 1970: 29; see also Gearing, 1973:23, who describes a similar concept as "cognitive mapping."

All things being equal, if a child remains in a sociocultural context that is culturally congruent with that in which he has been socialized, typically he will mature and develop (barring some handicap) in a manner considered appropriate to that context. If, however, the child is socialized by individuals who systematically expose him to conflicting, and/or incongruent sociocultural patterns, the child's existing experience base will be less functional. He may no longer get positive reinforcement for behaving according to implicit and explicit criteria associated with the socialization context. He may even be penalized for manifesting this capability. This is especially problembatic when the adult response to such a child is based upon a comparison of him with children for whom the new context is culturally congruent.

In the introduction to this paper, it is argued that public schooling environments considerably overlap requirements of the home environment of the middle-class Euro-American child.* Dimensions of these environments, such as time and space organization, social interactions, and physical phenomena are similar to (or at least valued by those socializers involved with) the middle-class child's prior experience. This is also the case with 1) the degree to which the Euro-American, middle-class child is expected to attempt to manipulate his environment; 2) the values placed upon various cognitive, affective, and psychomotor behaviors; and 3) strategies and skills which children are expected to be able to display.

If this supposition concerning a high degree of congruence between the Euro-American, middle-income home and the school is true, then the school environment as it is now constituted should facilitate the growth and development of the Euro-American, middle-class child. That is, behavior expected at school and at home approaches consonance. Though the school experience may be new for him, he should be responsive to encounters with school personnel through which he learns to behave in a valued manner, and similarly, they should be responsive to him in a functional manner.

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* See also Burger, 1968; Fuchs, 1969; Becker, 1961; Fantini and Weinstein, 1968.

The nonEuro-American child, on the other hand, is socialized during his early years in an environment which is dissimilar to the Euro-American, middle-class home environment. Schooling for these children, then, take place in an environment which is decidedly unfamiliar, and in which reinforcements are a function of sociocultural and linguistic patterns that are dissimilar to those which he knows. In Euro-American oriented schools, therefore, it could be expected that at least one set of problems typically associated with schooling the nonEuro-American child may stem from his being exposed to and required to behave in an environment which contradicts, in salient ways, the environment which he has learned to transact.*

Undoubtedly, a particularly important dimension of the nonEuro-American child's problems with school involves the responses to his behavior that the child encounters in school. Generally, teachers of nonEuro-American students have been drawn from middle- or lower-middle-class groups and are predominantly Euro-Americans. Thus, they have had little opportunity to know and understand the values, culture and communities from which these children come.

Clearly, the proclivity or disposition to acquire behavior that is foreign to a child is a function of that child's background, experience and interest when he enters school. It is equally clear that children will vary with respect to these characteristics because of individual, family, community and general background differences. The extent to which a teacher is able to respond to a child, then, will depend on the extent to which his or her acts are governed by knowledge and understanding of the nature of each of these factors, and the ability or inability to understand and respond to the cultural background of the child.

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* See Johnson et al, 1972; Burger, 1968; Fuchs, 1969; Fantini and Weinstein, 1968, for examples of areas of culture-conflict between the home and school.

Many nonEuro-American children have limited opportunities to interact with middle-class adults. Thus, school-valued behavior may not be in their repertoires. Despite this possibility, their behavior is usually perceived by teachers as "inappropriate." If the children are not already aware of it, they soon learn that their behavior is negatively valued. In instances where the children's behavior is not negatively evaluated, the possibility exists of large segments of their behavior not being perceived at all, and therefore, not being exploited in the process of teaching. The teacher's inability to acknowledge behavior of minority children as a basis for the development of new knowledge and skills, then, has adverse effects on the quality of schooling for the children.

If these realities result in slow acquisition of competence as measured by school norms, then it might be expected that consistent performances which result from slow acquisition of competence negatively impress educators. When a child's behavior is assessed in sociocultural contexts that are inconsistent with his home environment, he may appear to be less competent than his classmates, either because behavior deemed appropriate is not embedded in his repertoire, or because he has not yet learned to "read" the context. Children in such situations are typically unable to manifest "appropriate" behavior and are thought to have deficient, bizarre or even offensive, rather than different, though equally valid styles of behaving. The nature of the problem, however, is circular because the very lack of teacher awareness of the child's developed skills and competencies reduces the teacher's ability to structure learning environments which aid the growth and development of non-Euro-American children.

CHAPTER IV

CONDITIONS FOR EVOKING COGNITION: A PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

A Staff Paper

In Chapters I and II we have generally focused on phenomena which have been external to, but are highly influential with respect to what, in fact, occurs in the classroom. In Chapter III and this chapter, we focus more on in-classroom [illegible]a. Specifically, in this chapter we are concerned with the developm[illegible] cognitive skills of low-income, urban Black children and the conditions which are present in learning environments which facilitate or mitigate against evoking conceptual processes. It is not the purpose of this chapter to give an in-depth review of the literature, but only to re-familarize the reader with the more relevantly poignant studies in this area.

It is our contention that conditions under which conceptual processes are evoked or sampled in the public schools, and the instruments available to educators to measure cognition once evoked, are not appropriate for all children; that interaction between educators and students may be negatively affected by data produced from the utilization of such instruments; and that, generally, there tends to be an inability on the part of some educators to relate or present material which is necessary for evoking cognition in such a way that it is coherent for low-income, urban Black children.

John Flavell (1971) has remarked that a cognitive skill must be both evokable and usable before such a skill can be displayed in test performance. In other words, the threshold of activation of the skill must be attained and the learner must be able to effectively use this skill once it is aroused. Both conditions must obtain. Much of the research on population differences in cognitive skills seems to be consistent with the view that there is greater group variation in the circumstances necessary for evoking conceptual strategies than in the ability to make use of conceptual strategies once they are evoked (Cole, 1971). If one is willing to accept a definition of intelligence as the capacity of individuals to profit from experience and to adapt within the context of that experience, then one must be willing to grant tenability to the hypothesis that "intelligence" may encompass somewhat different specific abilities for exponents of different socializing contexts. Summarizing research on cognitive abilities in African populations, Cryns (1962) has observed:

> Intelligence and intelligent behavior are culturally specific. The physical and sociocultural conditions of an environment reinforce certain primary abilities as most significant for adjustment to the problems posed by it, and these in particular become the true diagnostic of intelligence within the environment (1962:297).

Thus one way in which standardized I.Q. tests may obscure accurate assessment of the abilities of non Euro-American children is by evaluating performance only on those skills which are salient among Euro-American populations. Furthermore, the practice of collapsing performance indicators into a single index, or "intelligence quotient," fails to elucidate specific cognitive abilities for which minimal group differences exist. Adler (1968), in discussing some of the pitfalls with I.Q. testing of children from low-income families, says that the vast majority of modern psychology no longer accepts the notion that intelligence tests measure innate hereditary differences that are untouched by the environment of the individual. Klineberg (1954) stated that: "the history of the mental testing of ethnic or 'racial' [sic] groups may almost be described as a progressive disillusionment with tests as measures of native ability, and a gradually increasing realization of the many complex environmental factors which enter into the results."

A test, then, is a cultural artifact, and the school, it follows, has been a major agency for the proliferation of Euro-American cultural norms and patterns.

A small amount of comparative research on diverse mental abilities has been conducted. For example, although Feldman (1973) contests their findings, Stodolsky and Lesser (1967) observed among first-grade children that both Black and Jewish children scored higher on verbal abilities than on reasoning, numerical or spatial abilities. Chinese children, on the other hand, scored highest on spatial abilities, but below the level of Black children on verbal abilities. Clearly, diverse mental abilities are differentially reinforced in different environments. Even so, scores on diverse mental abilities or on subscales of I.Q. tests must be viewed with a critical eye when they are offered as indices of the learning potential of Black populations. It is still unknown what any of the standardized tests really measures, particularly for Black populations.

Jensen (1969), addressing himself to the question of whether the correlations among various measures of learning and performance differ according to the background of the children being tested, proposed a continuum of learning abilities. His continuum ranged from what he called Level I (associative learning) to Level II (cognitive learning). Paired associates would be an example of a Level I task and concept learning or problem solving would be an example of Level II. According to the hypothesis, Level I abilities are necessary but not sufficient for Level II abilities, and these abilities are distributed differently among Euro-American and Black children. By this model, associative-type learning is supposed to be characteristic of Black children, while Euro-American children are assumed to learn in a more cognitive manner. Correlations between associative and cognitive learning would differ according to the ethnicity of the child, if Jensen's hypothesis is valid. However, according to a study conducted by Stevenson et al (1970), it was found that the intercorrelations for the learning processes of children from both middle- and lower-income families were very similar. Paired-associate learning and serial memory were found to be significantly correlated, as were observational learning and paired-associate learning, serial memory and category sorting. A finding with very interesting ramifications was that the frequency of significant correlations between instruction and the learning tasks was greater than that found among the learning tasks themselves.

In the learning of paired-associates, particularly during the elementary school years, equivalent performance has typically been observed for different ethclasses, as in the Stevenson (1970) study. For example, Semler and Iscoe (1963) studied samples of Black and Euro-American children aged five to nine years. The populations did not differ in paired-associate learning performance. Low correlations between learning performance and measured intelligence were observed. Equivalent performance of children from low-income, urban Black and high-income, Euro-American families on paired-associate learning has repeatedly been found by Rohwer and Ammons (1970). In one Study Rohwer (1971) found higher correlations between paired-associate learning and measured intelligence for low-income, urban Black children than for high-income Euro-American children. The question of differential learning potential in different populations, however, is not resolvable on the basis of existing evidence. It is known that proficient learners report that they engage in complex conceptual activity while learning lists of noun pairs. This conceptual activity, which is often referred to as "elaboration," consists of constructing meaningful relationships between the members of a noun pair through such mnemonic activities as composing a sentence linking the pair members or imagining a visual interaction.

The elaboration process is, in some ways, reminiscent of the processes of assimilation and accommodation proposed by Piaget (Furth, 1969), in that the child incorporates environmental information into his already existing schema (or cognitive structures) and also forms new structures based on that interaction.

While adults are more likely than children to engage in spontaneous elaboration, young learners do profit from provided elaborations, i.e., presenting the noun pairs in a sentence or in a drawing (Jensen and Rohwer, 1965). Thus it seems plausible that much of the variance in performance on paired-associate learning tasks may be attributed to differences in the degree to which learners engage in the conceptual activities of elaboration, or abstract reasoning ability, which, according to Piaget, would effect those in the Formal Operational Period (ages twelve to fifteen, although age differs with individuals). Similarly, equivalent paired-associate performance suggests that learners have engaged in equivalent amounts of elaboration. This view of paired-associate learning leads to markedly different conclusions about relative mental abilities of Black and Euro-American children than are presently widely held by educational decision-makers.

Parallel results have been found in learning studies using a different paradigm utilizing the free recall of lists of words. In the free recall learning paradigm, children are shown a series of familiar objects or words and are then asked to recall as many of the objects as possible in any order that may come to mind. Again, under most conditions of presentation, low-income, urban Black children and middle-income Euro-American children in the elementary school years perform equally well on free recall tasks. As a matter of fact, under no conditions of presentation have the two populations been found to differ in free recall performance below the fourth grade (Irwin, Gerdes and Rohwer, 1971; Jensen and Fredericksen, 1970; Glasman, 1968). Generally, it has been found that learning performance is dependent not only upon the abilities or characteristics of the learner and the characteristics of the task, but upon the interaction of the two (Mallory, 1970). Fredericksen (1969) also found that characteristic modes of information processing, or cognitive strategies, serve as the fundamental links, or mediators, between the learner and the task.

There is also evidence that the rewards associated with performance in the valued direction, as well as the conditions for presenting material, have an influence on the probability of detecting population differences in performance. Samples of middle-income, low-income, and retarded children, for example, were compared on a concept-switching task (Zigler and DeLabry, 1962). Equivalent performance by all three groups was observed when each group was operating under its own optimal reward conditions.

Studies in classification skills or sorting have often been used to study cognitive processes along a continuum from concrete to abstract. In classification studies, subjects are presented objects which can be grouped in several different ways, e.g., by color, form, number, and function. Subjects' classification behavior can be assessed in terms of the preferred basis for sorts, ability to articulate bases for sorts, and/or ability to sort by more than one criterion. It has been postulated that sorting criteria differ in the degree of abstract reasoning required in performing the sorts. The criteria of color and number, for example, allegedly lie on the concrete end of the continuum because of the perceptual immediacy and unidimensionality. Form and function are posited as relative abstract bases for object sorts. In an interesting study of classification skills in an African nation, Irwin and McLaughlin (1970) compared samples of school children and uneducated adults, first using cards which could be classified by the criteria of color, number and form. It was found that all groups preferred color over form and number over form. Ability to shift dimensions was greatest in the upper primary sample, but all groups had most difficulty in sorting by form. The more interesting part of this study was a further probing of classification skills in the uneducated adult sample. It was suspected that the poor performance of the adult group in the card sorting task was partially attributable to their lack of familarity with the stimulus materials. Stimulus materials for the second part of the study consisted of bowls of rice which varied in terms of the type of rice, size of the bowls, and cleanliness of the rice grains. Under these conditions, the uneducated adults equalled the upper primary school children in the card sorting task on ability to shift dimensions, and the adults were well able to state the criteria used in their sorts. Zempleni-Rabain (1970) looked at the Wolof children in Senagal and how they learned to conceptualize and communicate; this was through contact, proximity of body, voice and expression. There are indications from this and other studies (e.g., Price-Williams, 1961) that the ability to use abstract reasoning in the classification of objects is often a function of familiarity with the stimulus materials and of personal preference.

It was noted earlier that paired-associate learning performance is typically observed to be equivalent among children from low-income, urban Black and middle-income Euro-American families during the elementary school years.

However, in those few instances where significant population differences do exist, the paired-associates have been presented in elaborated form. That is, noun pairs have been presented to the learner as objects depicted in interaction or as subject and object embedded in a sentence context (Rohwer, 1971). In addition, attempts by Rohwer and his colleagues to improve paired-associated learning proficiency by training young children in techniques of elaboration have actually produced a populations effect where none existed before these same children were trained. These findings have led Rohwer to speculate that low-income, urban Black children may enter school with different propensities for engaging in elaboration activities. Another way to phrase this proposition is that low-income, urban Black children have different loci for evoking elaboration activity from middle-income, Euro-American children. It will be remembered that under most conditions of presentation of the same material, low-income, urban Black children may enter school with propensities for engaging in elaboration activity different from middle-income, Euro-American children. It will also be remembered that under most conditions of presentation of the same material, low-income, urban Black children learn material with efficiency that is equal to their middle-income, Euro-American agemates.

It was previously stated that proficient learners reported that they engaged in complex conceptual activity while learning lists of noun pairs. This learning would be further enhanced if the noun labels were presented concurrently with pictorially presented object pairs. A crucial question at this time would seem to be whether or not elaboration training could be shown to make durable differences in the efficiency with which children learn paired-associate lists (Rohwer and Ammons, 1970). Rohwer (1970) addressed himself to this question.

He looked at (1) whether elaboration training improved paired-associate performance more than simple practice on such tasks; and (2) whether elaboration training would suffice to reduce observed discrepancies in learning between children defined as coming from low- and high-income families. It should be noted here that the differences between these two populations are much smaller on paired-associate tasks than on I.Q. and achievement tests. The results showed a positive effect of elaboration training for both Black and Euro-American groups. However, the effect was confined to an aural list for the Euro-Americans and to a mixed list for the Blacks.

Decisions made about low-income, urban Black children are heavily influenced by archival data such as I.Q. scores and standardized achievement test scores. While it is conceded that standardized test performance can be useful in predicting success in school for Euro-American children, performance on such tests should not be taken as an index of the learning potential of all children, particularly low-income, urban Black children. While it is relatively well established that standardized tests do predict success in school, the formula for school success is a complex one and may, in part, be composed of decisions made by teachers and other school personnel based on the student's performance on standardized tests. The relationship between test performance and underlying abilities to learn has not been established. In fact, a considerable amount of evidence contrary to such a relationship can be marshalled in support of the contention that standardized intelligence and achievement tests do not accurately index the learning potential of low-income, urban Black children. Whatever value such standardized tests do have may consist in indexing the extent to which children have been socialized into Euro-American modes of perceiving and thinking.

It is not only in contrived studies of teacher expectancy (E.G. Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968) where teachers are given inaccurate reports of measured student aptitude, but also in real situations where teachers are informed of the actual test scores of their students, that decisions detrimental to the future educational attainments of students can be made.

The primary disadvantage to using intelligence and achievement tests to predict learning potential consists in the fact that none of these tests requires the student to engage in new learning in the test situation. On the contrary, these tests rely solely on the student's proficiency in recalling and applying previously learned information and skills that are biased toward Euro-American populations. Hence, it should not be surprising to find that students who have been socialized to Euro-American roles, values, and modes of perceiving and thinking perform better than other students on tests designed to measure intelligent functioning within that milieu.

The existence of large differences in performance on standardized tests of intelligence between ethnic and social class groups is one of the most thoroughly documented phenomenon in the psychology of group differences. Euro-American, middle-class subjects score, on the average, one standard deviation higher than do low-income, urban Black children. Analogous differences in performance on tests of academic achievement are equally dramatic. Many authors have reviewed the voluminous literature on this topic (e.g., Jensen, 1969; Dreger and Miller, 1968). Numerous efforts have been made to devise "culture-fair" tests of ability in an attempt to reduce or eliminate the observed group differences in performance. Most of these efforts have consisted of devising nonlanguage tests which, so it is argued, should be less biased in favor of the Euro-American population in which intelligence tests are normed.

Interestingly, Black subjects tend to receive even lower scores on nonverbal tests, such as Raven's Progressive Matrices than on more conventional verbal tests, such as the Wechsler, the Peabody Picture Vocabularly Test, and the Stanford-Binet (Jensen, 1969). This effect may be due more to perceptual rigidity or inability to realize the changing perceptual demands of a test, rather than to a lack of reasoning ability per se (Bartlett and _et al_, 1972).

There is also a consistently smaller variance in test scores for Black subjects than for white subjects on standardized tests (Shuey, 1966). However, a more in-depth analysis of so-called tests of abstract reasoning such as Raven's Progressive Matrices reveals that they are no more "culture-fair" than the conventional tests of intelligence. The fact remains that all standardized and so called "culture fair" tests were normed on Euro-American populations and quite expectedly are more representative of the categories that are salient to Euro-Americans than to other populations.

Summary

The research on paired-associate learning, free recall and classification skills lends credence to the hypothesis that low-income, urban Black children reason and abstract under conditions which approximate their environment. The challenge, to teachers then, consists in discovering those conditions under which optimal performance is attained by each child. Discovering these conditions will only be facilitated if teachers are not prejudiced on the basis of the often misleading results of standardized tests.

Given a consistent pattern of results from laboratory learning studies, it is disturbing to observe that the public schools are nonetheless doing poorly in schooling low-income, urban Black children, as outcomes of schooling are measured by tests of academic achievement. Inherent in these findings is the need for educational reform, in the sense that the educators need to be reeducated in their thinking and behavior toward low-income, urban Black children.

It is axiomatic in educational research that subtle variations in the conditions of testing have profound effects on the performance of the learner. Obviously, low-income, urban Black children are capable of learning-- but teachers must possess the ability to create proper atmospheres in which to present material which enhances coherency. Concluding their volume on cross-cultural comparisons in learning, Cole, Gay, Glick and Sharp (1971) remark that "...cultural differences in cognition reside more in the situations to which particular cognitive processes are applied, than in the existence of a process in one cultural group and its absense in another" (p.233).

How should the teacher of low-income, urban Black children evaluate all of the complex and sometimes conflicting data on the learning potential of low-income, urban Black children? Most often the teacher's only data-based source of performance information is students' scores on standardized tests of intelligence and achievement. Although these tests are relatively good predictors of academic success under current educational practices, evidence from learning studies suggests that standardized tests do not accurately represent the learning potential of low-income, urban Black children. Evidence from direct learning studies more frequently shows equivalent performances across populations and suggests that population differences which do occur are often a function of methods of presentation, familiarity of content materials, and other extrinsic factors. Populations appear to differ more in the conditions under which conceptual processes are evoked than in their ability to engage in conceptual activity.

SECTION II

THE DELIMITED PROBLEM FRAMEWORK

In this section, the problem area is delimited and the intellectual framework is presented. The delimited problem area was arrived at after consideration of such factors as staff experience and interest, program focus, need, and salient categories in the Larger Problem Area. Again, one could argue about our choice of boundaries. However, after considering the constellation of factors which are discussed in Chapter V, we selected what we consider to be an appropriate area. Having selected a delimited area for investigation, we then seek to more adequately define it. That definition appears in Chapter VI - The Intellectual Framework. In that chapter, we first present a discussion of problems and solutions associated with the education of low-income, urban Black children. We follow that discussion with an exploration of hypotheses and explanations that have currency among educational practitioners, theorists, and researchers. A model is to prepare the reader for the reviews of literature which are presented in Section III.

CHAPTER V

The Delimited Problem

Dorothy Clement

It has been argued that the cultural incongruities or mismatch which exist between the home and school environments of other than the middle class, Euro-American child are not adequately understood. Further, this mismatch interacts with teacher and student experience bases in such a way as to affect the schooling of such children. We further argue that structural features of the school act either to increase or mitigate the effects of cultural mismatch.

Clearly, identification of aspects of the school organization and structure which depress students' chances to learn basic skills for different ethclasses is important. Though it is not possible, on the basis of existing research, to make reliable estimates concerning the weight of this factor in affecting student outcomes, it appears that this is an important variable and one which can be manipulated.

Limitations. The problem area discussed in Section I is obviously quite large and encompasses many possible areas of research, both in terms of variables and populations.

Though alluded to only briefly in Section I, an important factor in the performance of low-income, urban Black children in school appears to be a "cumulative deficit" (as described by Deutsch, 1967). Data on Black elementary and junior high students' performance in Berkeley, California schools (Berkeley Board of Education) on the Stanford Achievement Test (Second and Third grades) and the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (fourth through eighth grades) for May of 1970, for example, also show this trend.

TABLE III: Cumulative lag of Black Elementary and Junior High School students' performance in the Berkeley, California School System

GRADE	GRADE LEVEL	MONTHS BEHIND
2	2.2	6 months
3	3.1	7 months
4	4.0	8 months
5	4.4	12 months
6	5.1	15 months
8	5.7	25 months

After the first few years, further changes are also typically found. Bartel et al (1970), for example, in a study involving locus of control beliefs, found no significant differences between scores of first- and second-grade children of different (middle versus lower) socio-economic backgrounds, but did find a significant difference by fourth grade which was sustained in the sixth grade. The Bialer scores of middle-class children showed a significant increase in internality between the first and sixth grades, whereas for the children from low-income families, there was no significant increase.*

Also relevant to the importance of the beginning grades of school are the recent findings of Entwisle and Webster (1973a), who attempted to raise children's expectations for thier own performance. On the basis of their findings, they conclude:

> As a child grows older, his expectations for his general performance level at most tasks probably crystallize. Thus a greater increase for third graders than for fourth graders in both the control and experimental groups is not surprising. In fact such considerations led us to select third and fourth graders initially rather than older children who might have been preferable as subjects on other grounds (p. 223).

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* This interaction between social class and grade in school was significant even when I.Q. was controlled, though the relationship between social class and control beliefs disappeared.

Parsons (1959) described a function of the school as a sorting process whereby the social class roles relating to educational level, status, probable future income and so forth, are distributed (taught). Leacock's (1969) observational study in classrooms of four schools, varying by income levels of the students' families, offers support for that hypothesis, in that differences in objectives for the different income levels were observed (see also Dimond, 1971). Rist's (1970; 1972b) study also confirmed the notion that sorting does take place in the schools on the basis of nonobjective criteria, and that sorting by the school occurs as early, perhaps, as the eighth day of kindergarten.

On the basis of the indication that 1) sorting does occur early and 2) personality and achievement factors appear to be firmly set (in a negative direction for some variables) by the fourth grade, it might be argued that the first four to five years of school are crucial. Coupled with our argument that this is the period in which mismatch between the homes and schools of non-Euro-American children should be decreased for better beginning acquisition of skills, a decision to focus upon the K-3 or K-4 grades of school seems sound. Additionally, this decision was influenced by the wealth of experience this laboratory has had in the area of teacher education.

Concerning the population of interest, given the assumption that all ethclasses* are not necessarily divergent from the politically and economically dominant Euro-American sub-culture in the same way, we conclude that separate studies must be done for each ethclass until such time as it becomes apparent that this is not necessary.

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* "Ethclasses" is a concept suggested by Billingsly (1968) to encompass subpopulations defined by the intersection of ethnicity and social class. Thus, lower-income, Black people, for example, constitute an ethclass.

In deciding that each ethclass be looked at separately, a dilemma arises. Namely, given funding limitations, do we decide to do a small bit of research X number of times (where X = the number of ethclasses studied), or do we pursue a lesser number at greater depth, seeking to provide a pathway for others who would take up the study of other ethclasses?

The most advised solution appears to be the latter. Focus upon all possible or even some select subset of ethclasses would increase the amount of work necessary for each step geometrically. The output, then, for each group would probably be small. The research base from which to argue for future programs and research inquiries would be less. We feel concentration of sufficient resources to build a beginning base is extremely important.

The second step, then, is to select an ethclass. This could be done on the basis of size (percentages of the general population constituting ethclasses); estimate of need and/or the past work and experience of the staff. Because of our previous work,** interest, and staff capability, the choice is low-income, urban Black children. We might also point out that low-income, urban Black children and their families constitute a fairly significant proportion of the ethnic and social minority population in this country, and compared with other ethclasses, are among those suffering most from existing societal conditions. As Goldberg (1967) summarizes this point:

> While in general, middle-class and lower-class children differ from each other in the various ways noted above, Negro [sic] lower-class children differ even more from the typical white middle-class child than do white children from low-income families. The Negro [sic] child is heir not only to the characteristics

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** See, for example, "Pilot Cultural Appropriateness Symposium Interim Report," "Relationships Between Black English and Bilingual Competence: And the Teaching of Reading to Low Income Black Children," and "Inconsistencies Between the Home and School Environments of Low-Income Black Children: Pilot Home School Environmental Study Results."

> of lower-class status, but as a member of a minority group which has historically been considered inferior, he carries the scars of every kind of discrimination, forced segregation, and limited channels of mobility. (American Indians, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans probably fall into the same category). Differences in personality and school achievement due to ethnic group membership over and above those related to class status must, therefore, be considered (1967:45).

To summarize this point, since values and customs are determined (or at least greatly influenced) by ethclass, personality, disposition of significant actors, objects in the nurturing environment, and the environment surrounding the home, among other variables, we judge it necessary to consider each ethnic group separately. As argued above, we also feel it advisable to limit the scope to one ethclass. The group of primary interest in this paper is low-income, urban Black children.

Given the complex problems of effectively commingling different sets of cultural values and customs in a single system that necessarily operates in a political context (see Chapter I), and given how recently educators have recognized that a Black culture exists, an attempt to contend with the total problem area would be most ambitious. Details about even the most basic factors of the parental dimension of the problem simply do not exist in any systematic way. The variation of subcultures within and across low-income urban Black populations are not well known. Further, the effects of differing values and beliefs on child behavior, and the nature of the value judgments applied to and by children in various social and cultural settings has not been systematically investigated.

In the preceding discussion, we have argued that cultural congruence between the home and school is an important factor related to educational outcomes for non Euro-American children. Secondly, we have suggested that response (as expressed in part through expectations) to these differences by school personnel is an important process through which educational outcomes are affected differently. Thirdly, we are contending that the child's educational difficulties may originate not in his ethnicity, but in his teachers' responses to his ethnicity.

This direction suggests that since it is necessary to limit scope, the focus be narrowed to primary participants in the classroom, namely, the teacher and students as they constitute the primary interface between the home and the school. In the classroom, perhaps, the most important relationship is that between the child and the teacher, though obviously the child's peer group relations, among others, are very important as well.

The broader area of interest, then, is encompassed by the following contentions: (a) middle-class teachers and minority pupils are from divergent ethclasses and consequently may bring divergent experience bases and behavior to school environments; (b) experience bases which non Euro-American children bring to school environments may be neither perceived nor valued by the teacher; (c) middle-class teachers may attempt to impose school-valued behavior upon non Euro-American children without concern or regard for resulting negative educational consequences; and (d) teachers may respond to non Euro-American children on the basis of misinterpretations of the children's behavior as deficient or pathological. Finally, these factors may negatively affect subsequent student performance.

In light of the amount of data available (owing to the relatively recent attention to the research area), it also seems advisable to further limit the research area. The research questions which we have identified as pertinent are:

1. What sources of data are used by teachers of low-income urban Black children to make decisions about how the teachers exercise authority rights, specifically the rights to allocate, set criteria, sanction, sample and appraise?
2. How are these decisions then communicated to low-income, urban Black children?
3. How are student outcomes for low-income, urban Black children affected questions 1 and 2?
4. What are the structural features of the formal educational setting which reinforce and maintain differential performances among low-income, urban children?

Again, it is recognized that these questions are important ones for many other populations including middle-income Euro-Americans, as well as other ethclasses, in addition to the low-income, Black ethclass. It is anticipated that when others investigate relationships among these factors for other populations, it will be learned that there are many common factors in a number of seemingly divergent groups. However, comparative analysis of the nature of these interrelationships for various ethnic and political subpopulations of American society *is not* the focus of this paper. Rather, we have undertaken an in-depth investigation of what, in our judgment, are a set of crucial questions about the education of low-income, urban Black children during the early school years.

CHAPTER VI

INTELLECTUAL FRAMEWORK

Joan R. Bloom and Julie D. Stulac

Research focusing on problems associated with low-income, urban Black children has, until quite recently, stemmed from theoretical notions of genetic (Jensen, 1969) or cultural inferiority (Hunt, 1964). These children are perceived to possess characteristics which deviate from norms embedded in and valued by the public schools. Both explanations imply that school problems encountered by such students are due to defects within the child. Implicit in these explanations are solutions which change the child.

A number of intervention strategies stemming from these explanations have been effectuated by educators. The genetic model gave rise to the vocational education movement. Rather than increasing the probability that low-income, urban Black children will have access to equal educational oportunities, such a strategy perpetuates inequality, forming a basis for institutional ethnocentrism. The cultural inferiority model became the policy basis for compensatory education programs such as Head Start and Follow Through. To date, evaluations of compensatory education programs have shown that initially favorable results have not persisted over time.

Clark (1965), among others, has argued that the source of the problem may more validly rest within the system, i.e., what occurs in the school may be more responsible for negative outcomes than inherent attributes of the child. Several dominant themes have evolved from this perspective. Three of them have received some empirical support. They are the "culture-gap hypothesis," the "inequality hypothesis," and the "self-fulfilling prophesy hypothesis."

The "culture-gap hypothesis" asserts that usually the values and status of teachers are inconsistent with those of their pupils. The values, life-styles, and social class orientation of teachers of low-income, urban Black children are typically middle-class, while those of their pupils are predominantly values embraced by low-income families. Additionally, most teachers of low-income, urban Black children are Euro-Americans, while their students are not. These differences are not adequately understood or appreciated by the teacher, and these differing values interact in such a way that they negatively affect the schooling of such children. Empirical support for this hypothesis is provided by a secondary analysis of survey data from schools in forty-one major United States cities which was executed by Herriott and St. John, (1966), as well as the primary analysis of data from a single midwestern city, (Columbus, Ohio) by Corwin and Schmit, (1970). Rist's longitudinal study of a single classroom of Black children with a Black teacher supports the effect of the social-status differentiation between teacher and child (Rist, 1970).

The "inequality hypothesis" asserts that school systems do not distribute resources equitably, but rather favor middle-class schools in the assignment of staff, classes, materials, and other resources. The Serrano v. Priest case challenges the constitutionality of unequal allocation of resources in education (see Chapter II).

Finally, according to the "self-fulfilling prophecy" (as expressed by Clark, 1965), children tend to achieve at the level expected of them by their teachers. According to this argument, if teachers hold their students in low esteem and have low expectations for these students' success, teachers will teach in a perfunctory manner and convey negative attitudes in a variety of ways. The children will sense this and gauge their own expectations for success and performance accordingly. Evidence for the low expectations held by teachers of low-income, urban Black children, as compared to teachers of middle class children comes from several sources (Coleman, 1966; Herriott and St. John, 1966; Corwin and Schmit, 1970). The data from each of these surveys indicate that teachers rate low-income, urban Black children lower on academic motivation as well as on ability. There is little evidence to support the effect of these attitudes on the part of teachers with subsequent poorer performance of these children. However, Rists (1970; 1972b) longitudinal data on an all Black classrooms offers some support for this proposition.

In light of a number of studies, this hypothesis seems eminently reasonable. At least three different processes by which teacher expectations affect the learning outcomes of students are reported in the literature. These are the "Halo Effect" (Cahen, 1966); the Experimenter Bias Effect (EBE) (Rosenthal, 1966); and Source Theory (Webster, 1969).

Leonard Cahen describes the phenomenon of bias in teachers' evaluations of pupils as a special case of the Halo Effect in rating and judgment. Bias, as a form of stimulus error, is conceived of as being psychologically linked to social-psychological construct influence. Halo is the tendency, in making an estimate or rating of one characteristic of a person, to be influenced by another characteristic or by one's general impression of that person. The Halo Effect is a positive function of the amount of prior information available to judges about the object or person being rated (Cahen, 1966).

The approach taken by Rosenthal (1966) focuses on the perceptions and motivations of the experimenter. Briefly, two types have been delineated. In the first, the experimenter is viewed as a measuring instrument who makes unconscious observational mistakes and interpretation errors. In addition, certain biosocial and psychosocial attributes of the experimenter are seen as unintentionally affecting the experimenter's perception of the subject's responses. The second type that has been delineated is based on the expectations of the experimenter. The experimenter's expectations for a subject's performance based on the research hypothesis or self-desires or biases, will subtly influence his subject's responses in such a way as to confirm these expectations. Seeing the classroom as an analogue to his experimental laboratory, Rosenthal pointed to the possible relationship between the attitudes of the teacher and subsequent performance of the children in his classroom.

Theoretical ideas of Webster (1969) are based on the idea of how a special class of "significant others" determines the behavior of individuals in interpersonal situations. His work is based on a long-standing perspective in social psychology which claims that the individual's self-image arises as the result of knowing others' opinions, that he comes to view himself in the "looking glass" of others' ideas regarding him. Formulating these ideas in terms of Expectation States Theory, the formation of an individual's conception of his own task ability (self-expectations for success), and his conception of others' ability as well (expectations for others' success) is extended to include conceptionalization of a particular type of person as source, whose evaluative opinions will be used by individuals in forming their expectation states for self and others. In this theoretical scheme* the process through which the individuals's (child's) expectation for success is determined is through the unit evaluations of the source (teacher).

The inability of the school to positively affect the education of low-income, urban Black children is a highly complex phenomenon. Although each of these hypotheses is attractive as a potential explanation for unequal outcome of schooling, it would be a serious mistake to assume that any of these, in and of itself, would be any more fruitful in providing an intellectual framework necessary for the planning of intervention strategies than the previously discarded models, i.e., genetic inferiority and cultural deficit. For any single theory can, at best, provide only a partial explanation for such a complex situation. In addition to being socially attractive, the combination of these noncompeting explanations provides a fuller explanation than can be provided by any single one of them. The intellectual framework which follows combines these three explanatory hypotheses.

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* See Berger, J. T. L. Conner, and M. H. Fisek, forthcoming for more detailed development of Expectation States Theory.

The focus of these conceptualizations is the teacher. There are several reasons why the teacher may be studied as a critical variable. First, in terms of amount of significant interaction with students, the teacher -- more than any adult school participant-- prevails. Not only does the teacher frequently represent the first "human" contact with the dominant culture for the low-income, urban Black child, (s)he may also exert influence as a role model. Second, within the context of the classroom, the teacher is clearly the most powerful member. Within the confines of a self-contained classroom, the teacher is very autonomous. By definition, the teacher has, among other things, the authority to praise, sanction, allocate, and delegate. To be sure, students can and do influence teachers; sanctioning rights, however, remain vested in the role of the teacher.

Third, recognizing the relationship between environmental stimuli and behavior, it is important to have a clear understanding of the variables which operate in this critical setting. The teacher is a potentially significant agent for change in the school. Within the microcosm of the classroom, the teacher typically has some flexibility with which to manipulate and control the environment. This flexibility is subject to many structural constraints of the larger organization; however, within such limits some environmental characteristics are open to teacher manipulation.

The teacher, therefore, may be viewed as a potentially effective target for intervention. Within the constraints of the larger school structure, (s)he is clearly the most powerful adult vis-a-vis the students. Further, within the confines of the classroom, his(er) potential to alter the environment within which (s)he and the students operate is important. This is especially critical in light of evidence that students are differentially treated by given teachers which, in turn, cues differential responses from students.

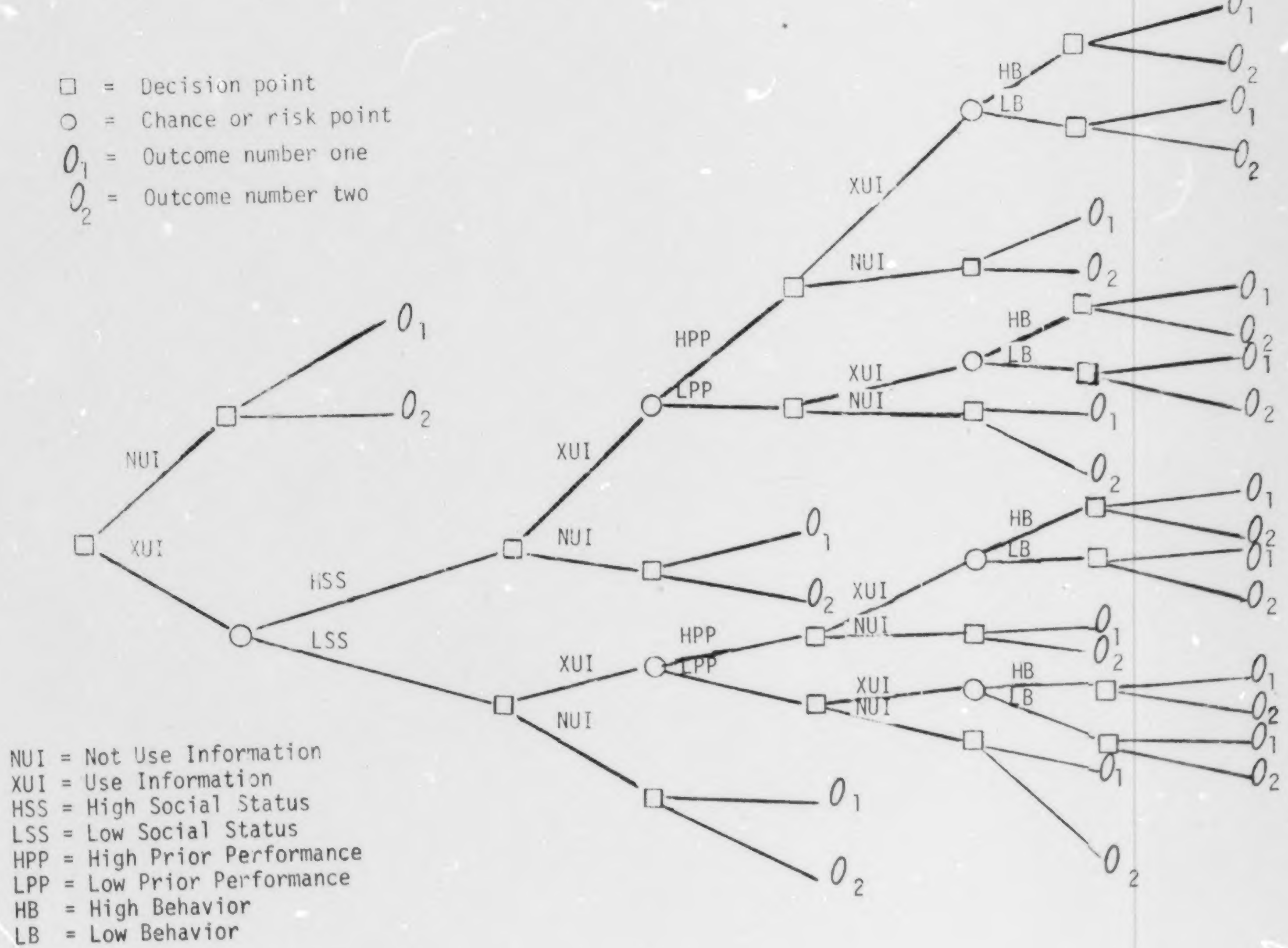
The effect of teachers' beliefs on student behavior as separated from the effect of the organizational climate was analyzed by Harvey et al (1968). They studied teachers and students from 118 classrooms from 18 rural and urban kindergarten and first-grade classrooms. Controlling for the effect of the organizational climate, they nevertheless found that the teachers characterized by different belief systems differed markedly in their classroom behaviors as did their students. In other words, the teacher had an effect over and above the effect of the organizational climate. Brophy and Good (1970) also found that teachers make a difference which cannot be attributed to the school as an organization. In the small sample of classrooms in their study, tracking was practiced. Homogeneity was achieved by composing classrooms according to readiness and achievement scores. Even so, the level of achievement of some classes was higher than expected, while that of others was lower.

The teacher is in a vulnerable position. Not only does (s)he appear to exert an independent effect on student behavior and potentially on student outcomes, (s)he also serves a mediating role linking the school to the family. Since it is not within the scope of educational researchers and practitioners to attempt to alter family patterns-- an unattractive alternative in any case-- what remains are three options: (1) change the child within the school context through, for example, compensatory education programs, (2) change the teacher by elaborating different alternatives for interacting with children, structuring activities, developing curricula, etc., and, (3) change the system. The latter two options are believed to be the most fruitful of the three, given the massive failure of compensatory education and related programs in the past. Before specific changes are advocated, however, the dynamics of the crucial setting, the classroom, must be understood.

The following model (See Figure 6, p. 138) is an attempt to more clearly conceptualize and refine elements of the classroom. In order to ascertain the scope of the teacher's domain and the effects of the salient operants, a decision-making model is appropriate and is briefly described as follows. A authority may be viewed as the target and processor of a wide vareity of informational stimuli. The accumulation of informational data sets conditions for evaluation of participants within the purview of the authority. Given alternatives which may or may not have had their genesis in the authority, participants are allocated to positions in the organizational herarachy and delegated responsibilities. The final point in this cognitive and behavioral chain is the response of the participant or outcome. This is a familiar organizational pattern which lends itself to adaptation within the context of the classroom. Toward this end, aspects of this process will be briefly elaborated.

Authority. A role incumbent has authority if his control attempts are supported by his superiors (Scott et al, 1967). For example, if a teacher attempts to maintain silence during the administration of an examination and the principal supports this attempt, then the teacher is said to have an authority right over students in this respect. With respect to organizational subordinates, authority systems may be perceived as valid but not as legitimate. That is, a student may recognize that teachers do have authority rights over

FIGURE 4 Heurisitic Model to Facilitate Review of the Literature



□ = Decision point
○ = Chance or risk point
O_1 = Outcome number one
O_2 = Outcome number two

NUI = Not Use Information
XUI = Use Information
HSS = High Social Status
LSS = Low Social Status
HPP = High Prior Performance
LPP = Low Prior Performance
HB = High Behavior
LB = Low Behavior

NUI
XUI
HSS
LSS
XUI
NUI
HPP
LPP
XUI
NUI
HB
LB
O_1
O_2

them, but deny that they *should have* rights over them. The question of legitimacy, therefore, rests on the degree of congruence between the norms of subordinates and the authority.

The notion of legitimacy has important consequences for interaction within the classroom. If the student perceives the teacher's authority as legitimate, the teacher will be a salient evaluator of the child. According to Webster, the mode by which the teacher's "expectancies" affect the child is through evaluation. The child accepts the teacher's evaluation and uses them as a basis upon which he forms the expectations for success or failure that he holds for himself and his classmates' performances (Webster, 1969; Entwisle and Webster, 1970; Entwisle and Webster, 1973a). This underscores the importance of the teacher's potential as an agent for change.

Information. In the course of exercising authority rights (which include the rights to sanction, allocate, set criteria and appraise), teachers use data from several sources. It is possible to trichotomize the nature of this data. One kind of information will be called *status information*. This includes socially defined attributes which have no logical relationship to performance outcomes, but which affect them in any event. Status information includes such variables as ethnicity, sex, SES, religion, place of residence, name and age. Each of these variables may possess differentially valued states. For example, it may be more socially acceptable to be wealthy than to be poor, to be male than to be female, etc. Probably the most disturbing and powerful effect of these status variables is their ability to carry with them general expectations for success or failure into tasks which have no relation to the status information per se.

A series of experimental studies undertaken during the last fifteen years have considered the effect of different kinds of status information on the problem solving of small task-oriented groups. For example, ethnicity as a form of status information has been investigated in Black and Euro-American groups of male college students by I. Katz, and in Black and Euro-American groups of male junior high school students by Katz, Goldston and Benjamin, (1958); Katz and Benjamin, (1960); Katz and M. Cohen, (1962); E. G. Cohen, (1971); E.G. Cohen and Roper, (1972). Age as a form of status information was studied in groups of teachers by Exline and Ziller (1958) as well as by Deal (1971), who observed groups of parents and teenagers. Sex as a form of status information has been studied by Strodtbeck and by Hall (Strodbeck and Mann, 1957; Hall, 1972). Occupational prestige has been a popular type of status information studied in experiments on problem solving. Caudill (1958) observed the effects of occupational differences on administrative staff meetings in a mental hospital. Torrance (1965) studied the differences of military rank as did Berger _et al_ (1972). Strodbeck _et al_ (1957) studied occupational differences among mock juries, and Bloom (1972) studied the prestige differences within nursing. Others have considered the effect on problem solving resulting from status information which suggested that members of groups differ only on the academic prestige of the college they attended (Cohen, Kiker, and Kruse, 1969). The findings from these studies suggest that the status variables such as ethnicity, age, sex, occupational and academic prestige affect task-related interaction in the same predictable way. The participants whose status is valued less participate less and are less influential in getting their ideas accepted by other group members.

A second kind of information is _performance information_. Performance information includes any data which relates to or reports on task competence. Competence may be perceived as _specific_ (evaluation relevant to a single task which implies a single ability such as playing ping pong) or _general_ (evaluation on a set of symmetrically related tasks which imply the same ability, such as ping pong, tennis, and paddle ball). The former type allows an evaluator to say that a person is good at ping pong; the latter allows an evaluator to infer that a person is a good athlete. Class correlates include test score data and grades.

Research interest in the effect of performance information on student outcomes has been growing in the last few years. Following the controversial study of the "teacher expectancy effect" by Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968), the idea that teachers have an effect on learning through their expectations for better performance from some children than from others is becoming widely accepted among practitioners somewhat ahead of the evidence. A study of classroom interaction between teachers and selected students by Brophy and Good (1970) found some qualitative differences in the teachers' interaction between the students they rated high on academic achievement and those they rated low. For example, the teachers initiated more work-related contacts with the "highs" and demanded and more frequently reinforced quality performances of the "highs" as compared to the "lows." In an earlier study, Hoehn (1954) anticipated qualitative differences in the teachers' response pattern to children of different social status. Instead he found a sharp qualitative difference in teacher response to children of differing achievement levels. In a recent study by Hoffman (1973), perceived academic ability was shown to generate expectations for success which in turn determined the relative amount of participation and influence contributed by group members on an academic task. A simulation game was used as the criterion task. This particular game was developed by educators as a way to encourage the participation and develop the talents of children who are labeled "low achievers." Instead of boosting the participation levels of low achievers, the interaction patterns on the simulation game reflected the academic ordering of the classroom. In a series of studies, Brookover et al (1965) found that perceived academic ability (operationalized as grades) was highly correlated with subsequent achievement. The power of performance information to predict future success is, therefore, considerable.

A third kind of information is called behavioral information. Classroom behavior which is subject to evaluation by teachers can be categorized three ways: achievement behavior, institutional adjustment behavior, and behavior reflecting personal attributes (Jackson, 1968). These categories refer to overt and observable actions. Achievement behavior includes public and semipublic responses such as answering questions, recitations and other demonstrations of physical and intellectual accomplishments. Examples of behavior which reflect levels of valued institutional adjustment are: being on time, being quiet and orderly, raising hands, listening to directions, lining up, and so forth. In brief, this category covers conventions designed to preclude chaos or reinforce institutional structures in the classroom. Personal attributes are those sets of codes, values, skills, information, beliefs and behavior, i.e., "experience base" that the child brings with him to school. Global characteristics such as "niceness," helpfulness," and "general intelligence" are also included in this category

Data from the exploratory study of Johnson et al (1972) suggest that children from low-income, urban Black families manifest behavior in the classroom which are valued only at home. For example, they found that physical fighting was an acceptable mode of solving problems at home, but not at school. Speaking Ebonics was acceptable at home, but not at school. Children spent more time solving interactional problems at home (problems involving other persons) than at school, while environmental problems (problems dealing with objects in the environment) were more likely to occur at school than at home.

Whether these behavioral differences are characteristic of only those low-income, urban Black children studied, or are characteristic of all children, was not considered in this exploratory study.

Once decisions are made by the teacher, they are communicated to the students. Scott et al (1967) elaborate four points that are relevant to this aspect of the model. In discussing the concept of authority, they delimit four rights: to allocate, to set criteria, to sample and to appraise. These elements are easily adaptable to the classroom setting. A teacher allocates by assigning tasks and the mode by which they are executed. Within the context of this model, the nature of the allocation relates to decisions based on the information the teacher has received. The right to set criteria referres to levels of acceptable competence. Messages about how the teacher perceives the student's ability levels are communicated through what criteria level (s)he sets for him. Sampling refers to what aspects of a task are selected for evaluation, or who is selected to demonstrate competence. When a teacher calls on a student, (s)he is sampling the level of knowledge present in the classroom. To appraise is to evaluate. Confirmation or refutation of competence communicates his(er) perception of the student along a given dimension.

Student outcomes refer to those elements in the cognitive and affective domain which result from decisions by the teacher. Self-esteem, academic self-concept, sense of efficacy, and task competence are some among several measurable student outcomes.

This scheme suggests a series of intervening steps linking expectations for relative success or failure to achievement. It is not intended to illustrate causality. Rather it is useful as an heuristic device in that its value is twofold:

1. It suggests a way of reviewing the relevant literature. Some parts of the scheme are probably better supported by theory and research than others. Such a model will point this out.
2. Since research and development activities are interrelated, this approach suggests whether there is a sufficient research base for a developmental study or whether further research activities are necessary.

The central figure in the diagram is the teacher. The terminal point of each branch leading from the teacher is labeled by either O_1 or O_2 and denotes an outcome, e.g., assignment to an ability group. Each decision point (indicated by a square) is arrived at through consideration of whether or not to seek a type of information. The points denoted by circles indicate chance or risk points that precede assignment of "high" or "low" on the relevant variable. This model is not based on the assumption that the teacher is a rational decision-maker. In other words, it is not assumed that the teacher's search for information will continue until the best possible decision can be made. Instead, a satisfycing premise is asserted--the teacher will search only to the point that (s)he has enough information to make a satisfactory decision (March and Simon, 1967). Subsequent to a decision to seek more information, input of a particular kind of information relevant to a student is evaluated. For simplicity, a two-value system, high and low, is used. This does not rule out, however, gradations between the two points. Equally important is that each decision is made on a relative basis. That is, values are assigned to one student vis-a-vis a collection of peers. If more than one kind of information is available, the communication point will imply a cumulative consideration of each. Subsequent decisions are contingent upon prior decisions. The model does not imply that input on all three kinds of information are considered prior to making an outcome decision, or that the input of each is ordered in a particular way. The informational elements are conceptually separate, but frequently occur or are presented simultaneously. At some point, however, the series of decisions made by a teacher results in their being communicated to students by means of outcome assignments.

As we pointed out in our discussion of explanatory hypotheses for the quality of schooling presently available to low-income, urban Black children, it is also the case that the process by which teachers use information in making decisions which affect student outcomes is too complex to be explained by any one theory or model. Our model will serve, however, to delineate an important aspect of all classrooms-- how and what information is 1) input and 2) processed by a teacher to effect various student outcomes. There are at least two elements of that aspect that the model does not consider: one is decisions made at the organizational level which affect the range of alternatives that are available to teacher; and the other is decisions made by peers which affect student outcomes.

Use of the Model to Analyze Rist's "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations."

The longitudinal study by Rist (1970), for example, can be analyzed in terms of this model. Rist followed a group of Black children for three years, kindergarten through second grade inclusive. Before school started, the kindergarten teacher had access to four sources of information: demographic data, public welfare data, medical information, and information relating to number of siblings and parents with whom the child was residing. Within the first week of school, she had further status information which included physical appearance, level of body odor, darkness of skin or skin color gradient and appearance of hair, as determined by contour of rods, color of hair, grooming and critical mass of nap. During this first week of school, she also was exposed to such behavioral information as how the children interacted with her and each other, who assumed leadership roles and who spoke a dialect of Euro-American English as opposed to Ebonics. On the eighth day of school she assigned the children to permanent seats at one of three tables. Among the significant attributes of the seating arrangement was the relationship apparent between distance from the teacher and level of SES and degree of interactional skills as defined by the teacher. As one moved from table one to table two to table three, there was an increasing dissimilarity between the children and the teacher. Over time, the students at table one became labeled "fast learners" while the children at table three became labeled "slow learners." The teacher's assessment was communicated to the children in terms of whom she called on to answer questions, whom she selected to lead the Pledge of Allegiance, take messages to the office, take roll, manage sports equipment, and other tasks the children were taught to value. Student response to the organization of the classroom and their position therein varied from table to table. Those at the first table 1) belittled those at tables two and three, 2) participated more actively and verbalized to a much greater extent than their classmates, 3) were compliant with the wishes of the teacher, and 4) perceived themselves as better students.

The first-grade teacher also assigned her students to three tables. Of the eighteen students who had moved to first grade from the kindergarten class described above, there were seven from table one, six had been seated at table two and five had been seated at table three. The first-grade teacher assigned all seven of the table-one students to her table "A." The six table-two students and four of the five table-three students were assigned to her table "B." One of the table 3 students plus six students who were repeating grade one were assigned to her table "C." The first-grade teacher had additional information on her incoming students: She had performance information on the incoming students. The labeling utilized by the kindergarten teacher was confirmed by the performance data.

By the second grade, only ten of the original students were left. Of the eighteen first-grade students, three repeated and five had moved. The second grade teacher also divided the students into three groups; the tigers, the cardinals and the clowns. Only students who had been members of both table one and table A were assigned to the top group in second grade, the tigers. Students who had sat at tables B and C in first grade became cardinals. The clowns consisted of six repeaters and three new students. The supporting and encouraging attitude of the kindergarten and first grade teachers toward their "fast learners" was reflected by the second-grade teacher. The tigers participated more, achieved more and were generally more successful than the other students. The decisions made by the kindergarten and first-grade teachers based on status, performance and behavioral data significantly and systematically sorted the children academically throughout second grade.

In the next section, a selective review of the literature is presented. The model serves as a guide to the choice of the reviewed studies that were included; however, the three sources of information reviewed do not lend themselves equally to analysis by the model. The most explicit kind of information used by teachers to make decisions is performance status information (See Chapter VIII). Even the inadequacies of the body of literature in this area were revealed by a strict adherence to the model. An attempt was made to present the reviews consonant with the model. The reader will not that this was not always possible.

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SECTION III

THE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This section includes a selective review of the Literature alluded to in the final paragraph of Chapter VI. The review is trichotomized. The first chapter (Chapter VII) focuses on status information. In the next chapter (Chapter VIII) prior performance information is focused upon. Behavior information is focused upon in the third chapter (Chapter IX). These three chapters are further trichotomized by the three elements of our model: decision information, the communication of decisions, and student outcomes. It should be noted that these divisions are artificial and made for convenience in that there is considerable overlap among the chapters. However, the reader will appreciate the fact that the presentation of the review had to be managed in such a way that it would be comprehensible. In the final chapter in this section (Chapter X) we present our summary, recommendations, and conclusions.

CHAPTER VII

Social Status as a Source of Information

Julie D. Stulac

Socioeconomic status, sex and ethnicity comprise the major social status variables most strongly related to a child's school career. Numerous studies report the effect of these variables on schooling (both directly and indirectly) through their interaction or through interaction with other variables related to achievement (Boocock, 1972). In this chapter an overview of these variables is presented.

Unlike many student characteristics of interest to educational researchers, status variables are largely observable; in fact, they do not even require any interaction beyond the visual dimension. A gross analysis of socioeconomic status is possible by observing the mode of dress and degree of cleanliness exhibited by the child. Physical characteristics such as skin color and build cue assessments of ethnicity. Even the current preferences for unisex clothing do not seriously hamper one in distinguishing boys from girls. Another way in which social status variables differ from other sources of information is that they are seldom consciously and/or explicitly used by teachers as they make decisions. This does not alter the power of social status variables; however, it does make it more difficult to capture the process by which they are used to determine educational outcomes. If children are treated differently on the basis of characteristics which do not reflect academic competence, then it is tremendously important to understand how such characteristics intervene in the educative process.

The studies which will be reported are of two major types. The first type is primarily descriptive, yielding correlations between two or more variables. The usefulness of this type of study lies in its ability to suggest relationships and patterns. It is of limited utility for a number of reasons. Since the conceptualzation of the variables is typically not theoretically based, the definitions cannot always be generalized across populations and the cumulativeness in the literature is greatly inhibited. The failure to abstract sufficiently is a problem because the surplus meanings carried around in the minds of the public remain; the same concept may be called by different names, two or more concepts may be called by the same, or a concept may carry different meaning for different populations.

The other type of literature which will be cited uses theoretical or quasi-theoretical bases for conceptualization of variables. These studies have the advantage of providing systematic explanations for the phenomenon under consideration. Thus, the way in which information, for example, gets translated into educational outcomes is explained.

Socioeconomic Status as a Variable

It is a truism that opportunities in life are shaped by social background. Two sources of family status are status by ascription (birth) and status by achievement. The extreme case of the former is evident in societies with rigid caste systems which preclude inter-level movement. An extreme case of the latter has probably never been realized in a social context. In the United States, it is assumed that status is determined by a combination of ascription and achievement. It is believed that one of the few avenues of upward mobility is education. In fact, as Leacock points out, "mass education was intended to educate more effective workmen, not to be a channel for upward mobility. If, in the process, it enabled a few of the most gifted to move upward in the social ranks, this was gratuituous, a side benefit" (Leacock, 1969, p. 146).

Several studies confirm the relationship between family background and level of educational attainment by offspring. Family background is usually assessed in terms of an index based on parental occupation. Further, the indices are most often based on some notion of a Euro-American idealized norm which may or may not reflect the reality for persons from other ethnic groups. Billingsley (1968) submits, for example, that while "middle-class" Blacks may share some similarities with "middle-class" Euro-Americans, they come from very defferent places historically. A conceptualization of social status, therefore, must be based not on one or another group's norms, but on some basis that cuts across populations. This will not be evident in the studies that are reported here.

Positive correlations between SES and both desired and expected levels of schooling for children have been reported (Hyman, 1953; Roper, 1961). Further, there are strong positive correlations between level of education and status of occupation and subsequently, status of occupation and income (U.S. Department of Labor, 1960; Warner and Abegglen, 1955; Miller, 1960).

The question of which of the two sources of status (ascribed or achieved) contributes more to the determination of one's life chances is an interesting one. Clark (1962) suggests that there has been a shift in the locus of the sorting-out process here in the U.S. In pre-twentieth century America, the sorting out occurred at the school door; that is, the occupation of a father was a good predictor of a son's future occupation (See Chapter I). With increased schooling available--particularly high school--selectivity shifted to an internal position within the school. This shift was accompanied by a broadening of the curricula available to students. General academic programs were joined by programs that were primarily vocational or commercial in nature. Thus, the school assumed an explicit responsibility to sort and track its clientele. But this has probably not changed who lands where on the status continuum. It just takes longer to get to the same place.

The purpose of this Chapter is to review literature related to the effect of SES as it impinges on educational outcomes.

The inequality of educational outcomes with respect to socioeconomic factors can be viewed from at least three perspectives (Cloward and Jones, 1963). First, educational facilities may be a source for inequality. Second, inequalities may arise from differential learning patterns to which teachers and curricular variety do not respond. Finally, equality may be conceptualized in terms of the degree to which differences in socialization due to socio-economic position, and/or ethnic origin are taken into account. Within this framework, equality of outcomes assumes differential input and interaction to which the schools must respond on at least three levels. Failure to be anything other than an extension of the middle-class home puts the schools in a position of perpetuating the status quo.

In Hollingshead's classic study, Elmstown's Youth, a seven-level index of socio-economic status was used to measure the relation of social position to education (Hollingshead, 1949). He reported that students who ranked at the lower end of his index were likely to receive lower test scores and grades, receive fewer prizes, experience more failures and be less likely to enroll in college preparatory classes. This study is corroborated by a multitude of other studies, (see Coleman, 1940; Havighurst, 1962; Abrahamson, 1952; and Shaw, 1943). A relationship between social class and duration of school attendance has been established, with low-income youth more likely to terminate or be terminated prematurely than their schooling beyond high school. (See Davie, 1953; Sewell, Haller and Strauss, 1957; and

Stephenson, 1957). Participation in extracurricular activities, student offices and elite peer groups has been shown to be positively related to social class (See Hollingshead, 1949; Gordon, 1957; Neugarten, 1946; and Stendler, 1949).

Suchman's (1968) investigation confirmed earlier findings and aspiration and educational plans were related to social class position. Among respondents from low-income families, he found that negative attitudes toward society, the school experience and one's self each independently lowered one's aspirations. In addition, he found a relationship between the social origins of teachers and their attitudes toward children of "poverty." There was a positive relationship between teachers' degree of exposure to "poverty" and their acceptance of children of "poverty." Wiles (1970) compared teachers of urban, transitional and peripheral schools and their attitudes toward their job, their students and the success of their school's program. Teachers in urban schools were less positive about their students, their job, staff morale, and were less sure their school's program was helpful to the students.

Most studies of SES factors and educational outcomes fail to provide an explanatory framework from which data may be interpreted. Simple correlational studies are helpful descriptively, but offer little in the way of suggesting remedies. Further, by presenting a series of percentages, they do not suggest (except probabilistically) who needs the help (See Cohen, 1972).

Using the notion of culture gap, Madaus investigated the relationship between home background, school success and resolution of role conflict situations. Parsons and Shils (1951) have characterized solutions to these problems as being either universalistic or particularistic. If the person resolves the situation on the basis of the other subject's relationship to himself personally, that is, he asks who is involved, he is acting particularistically. To respond universalistically is characteristic of middle-class norms. Madaus asserted that the school as an institution reflected the dominant values and role expectations of the larger society which he identified as middle-class. Assuming value incongruency between lower-class students and the school, he hypothesized that modes of resolving conflict would reflect social class.

The sample was selected on the basis of an SES index which took into account the attained level of education of the mother and the father and the father's occupation. Sorting along the dimension of academic success was based on two measures - a weighted grade-point average and the battery median grade equivalent of the Stanford Achievement Test Advanced (1953), which was administered to each of the 1,156 tenth-grade subjects. A two-by-two matrix was derived with the following categories: "advantaged" "successful" students, and "disadvantaged" "unsuccessful" students.

The dependent variable was measured using an instrument ("What Would You Do?") designed to determine universalistic and particularistic modes of resolving role conflict.

Results indicated that family background varied independently with mode of conflict resolution, while academic success was directly related to mode of conflict resolution. Thus, differential home socialization was superseded by school socialization by the tenth-grade.

Madaus suggests two reasons for the failure of his hypothesis. First, he questions the index used to identify the "advantaged" and "disadvantaged" members in his study. He suggests that a more appropriate method might have been to sort on the basis of what happens in the home rather than on the standard measures. Further, he suggests that the results might have been different had the hypothetical situations reflected the school setting rather than the larger societal setting. Perhaps a more cogent reason could be presented. Madaus evaluated parental occupation along a five-point scale: 1) professional, 2) technical, 3) subprofessional and subtechnical, 4) manual workers, 5) others. He grouped children whose parents' occupation fell in categories 1) or 2) as "advantaged" and presumably middle-class, and those in categories 4) and 5) as "disadvantaged." It could be argued that he selected the most "advantaged" group to compare with the least "advantaged" group and ignored the most likely candidates for the label "middle-class." He was, therefore, not comparing middle class with lower class but upper-middle class with lower class. There is no reason to believe that universalism-particularism is linear when related to social class.

Hoehn studied social status differentiation in the classroom behavior of nineteen teachers (Hoehn, 1954). He controlled on age (third grade); ethnicity (Euro-Americans); classroom size (25 or more pupils); and sex, ethnicity and SES of teachers (female, Euro-American, middle-class). Pupils varied along the dimension of social class from upper class to lower class according to the Warner, Meeker and Eells Index of Social Class. This index relies on parental occupation, type of house and area of residence as indicators of social class.

Hoehn was interested in quantity and quality of teacher contacts in relation to pupil social class and pupil achievement. His results are summarized below:

1. No relation between number of teacher contacts received by pupil and social status of pupil;
2. Controlling for sex, there is a relationship between frequency of conflict contact and pupil SES for girls, with lower-class girls receiving significantly more conflict contacts than higher status girls; this relationship does not hold for

boys when status is considered discontinuously (status members considered as a group), indicating that a few lower-status boys received considerable conflict contacts while others received very few;

3. Teachers' respect for the goals of pupils is directly related to pupil social class;

4. There is a direct relationship between frequency of positive and supportive contacts with SES of pupils and an inverse relationship between dominative conflict contacts and pupil SES;

5. Teachers differentiate quantitatively between high and low achievers, with low achievers receiving more contacts than high achievers; and

6. Teachers favor high achievers when contacts are considered qualitatively.

Hoehn concluded that there is large variability among teachers when quantity of teachers' contacts is considered; less variation occurs when quality of contact is considered, with teachers favoring pupils of high SES.

A dramatic study by Rist illustrates the impact of SES variables on decisions by teachers (Rist, 1970). This study attempted to show how decisions by teachers serve to reinforce the class structure of the larger society. He followed the children in an all-Black school for three years. Using demographic, medical and social welfare data in conjunction with data on physical appearance, body odor, and skin color, the kindergarten teacher grouped the children at three tables. There was a negative correlation between level of SES and distance from the teacher. Those who sat nearest the teacher interacted with her more frequently, could see the board more clearly and could hear her words more distinctly. Soon the tables were labeled "fast," "medium," and "slow" learners. Remarkably, group membership remained stable the following two years, with none of the "medium" or "slow" learners advancing to the top group or vice versa. Some shifting did take place in the first and second grades as "slow" learners advanced to make room for children who were new to the school or who were repeating the grade. Thus, status information that had no rational relationship to competence, over time determined competence. Subjective analysis became confirmed by objective data.

Four other studies illustrate the acuity of teachers in predicting a child's level of achievement at an early stage in his school career. Sutton (1955) found that teachers' rating of social adjustment of 150 kindergarten children predicted two sets of reading readiness scores for both boys and girls. Henig (1949) obtained teachers' rankings (based on behavioral characteristics) of the probability that their pupils would learn to read. Although these rankings were taken after only three weeks of school, they predicted end-of-the-year reading achievement as well as scores on reading readiness tests. Using ratings of "social maturity," Orear (1951) reported similar findings. In a study of Black and Euro-American first graders, Long and Henderson (1971) found that teacher ratings taken after six weeks did not significantly differentiate the two groups when taken cumulatively, but did differentiate them on specific items: "leadership" for the Euro-Americans and "Good Worker" for the Blacks were characteristics related to academic success. For both groups, teacher's ratings were positively correlated with scores on the Metropolitan Readiness, Metropolitan Reading, and Otis I.Q. tests taken one to two years after the initial rankings.

In a study not directly related to SES but interesting all the same, Clifford and Walster (1973) conducted an investigation in order to determine the relationship of physical attractiveness to predictions of success in school. The rationale is based on the assumption that first impressions affect subsequent interaction.

They hypothesized that the physical attractiveness of a child is strongly and positively related to teachers' judgments about and expectations for the child. The sample included 404 fifth-grade teachers from Missouri. Each teacher was sent a summary record of a hypothetical above-average child, a photograph of a child and an opinion sheet designed to elicit teachers' predictions for the success of the child. One of twelve different pictures accompanied the materials. Of the twelve photographed there were three each of "attractive" boys and girls and three each of "unattractive" boys and girls.

The teachers were asked to predict 1) the student's I.Q., 2) his future education, and 3) his parent's interest in academic achievement, which were combined to form an index of perceived educational potential. In addition, the teachers were asked to predict how well the student was likely to succeed interpersonally.

"Attractiveness" was positively related to each of the four items mentioned above, as well as to the combined category of perceived educational potential.

The data on the relationship of characteristics of principals and their pupils is slim. Prior to a study by Herriott and St. John (1966), the relationship between the social class and values of principals and those of students was unstudied. Similarly, the quality and nature of performance among principals of schools of varying social class was unrecorded. Studies had suggested that, especially in a "difficult" school, the principal may be a key figure in the morale and productivity of a school. It is reported that improvements in such schools occured after the arrival of a firm and creative administrator (see Educational Policies Commission, 1962; Marburger, 1962; Passow, 1962). Herriott and St. John found that the culture gap between principals and students was greatest for schools at the extreme ends of the

SES scale, the principals being somewhere in the middle. Non-Euro-American principals were generally found in schools where 80% of the staff and 100% of the pupils were also non-Euro-American, indicating that assignment of and promotion to principalships were not random. They found no overall differences in level of performance across SES groups. The role of the principal, however, was found to be most closely tied to teacher performance in the low SES schools. This was true especially in the areas of school planning, facilitation of office routine, handling students, and upgrading teacher performance, especially that of inexperienced teachers.

This study also reported correlations between school SES and pupil characteristics. It was found that reading levels differed, with 43% of the children in lower SES schools one or more years below grade level, but only 10% of the children in higher SES schools below grade level. Interest in academic affairs declined in a direct relationship to school SES, while discipline problems increased. Teachers expected only 7% of their pupils in the lower SES schools to attend college and 44% to drop out; 60% of the children in higher SES schools were expected to go to college and 7% to drop out before graduation from high school.

It is clear from the above discussion that there is a plethora of empirical studies to document the generalization that socioeconomic status is related to educational attitudes and outcomes. The number of dimensions along which differences have been reported is, indeed, staggering. First, such studies are a weak source for recommendations. While they point to differences, they do not suggest remedies. Causal factors and setting conditions remain unknown. A second difficulty occurs in identifying who needs what help. Knowledge that a characteristic occurs more frequently in one population than in another does not imply that all members of a given population share that characteristic (Cohen, 1970).

This failure to adequately conceptualize a phenomenon, which in turn inhibits movement in a cumulative line of research from which intervention strategies may be derived, is also evident in the research on the status characteristic we will consider next - sex.

Sex as a Social Status Variable

It has been well documented in studies dealing with the relationship of sex to academic achievement that in the early school years, girls outdistance boys in 1) their attitudes toward school and teachers, (Gregerson and Travers, 1968; and Jackson, 1968), 2) grades received, (National Manpower Council, 1957; Gordon, 1969; Maccoby, 1966; and Kagan, 1969), and 3) learning to read, (Doyle et al, 1971; Aaron, 1961; and Fabian, 1955). It is curious, therefore, that when it comes to receiving National Merit Scholarships, qualifying for college entrance and enrolling in college prep courses, boys do better than girls. If performance is partitioned according to subject area, then the advantages of each sex are more evenly divided. Boys appear to outperform girls in mathematical reasoning, judgment and spatial relations, and mechanical aptitudes, while girls excel at vocabulary and verbal fluency and tasks involving rote memory in the early years (see Maccoby, 1966; Wechsler, 1958).

The difficulty in interpreting this seemingly straightforward data lies in the source of the explanations. The ongoing arguement revolves around the question of whether sex differences are due to biological causes or differential socialization. It would be difficult to support the former contention on the basis of the available data. Striking differences are not evident until the children tested have been exposed to a considerable degree of role socialization (Boocock, 1972).

Two studies conducted in first-grade classrooms investigated the effect of teacher's differential perceptions of pupils and the relationship to reading achievement. A study by Michael Pallardy (1969) attempted to test the self-fulfilling prophecy as it operates to depress reading achievement among boys from whom less is expected. Ten teachers--all of whom believed 80% of their female first-grade students successfully learned to read--were included in two experimental conditions: five believed that males were just as successful; five believed that males were considerably less successful. Students were matched on the basis of reading readiness and I.Q. Results showed that overall differences between the two conditions were not significant; however, the boys from whom less was expected did considerably poorer on two of the four sub-tests: paragraph meaning and word study skills.

Helen Felsenthal (1971) investigated differences related to pupils' sex in female teachers' perceptions of social behavior, and related these differences to reading achievement. Twenty first-grade teachers and their 439 pupils were included in the sample. Each teacher checked a series of up to twenty characteristics which would describe each child. Observational measures were administered to calculate amount of praise and criticism each child received. Reading achievement scores were available at the end of the year.

Teachers perceived boys and girls as behaving differently in the classroom. Girls were perceived as being significantly more eager, cooperative, obedient and helpful. Boys were perceived as more often defiant and aggressive. Felsenthal found a significant correlation between teachers perceptions of positive classroom behaviors and reading achievement. Boys, it was reported, received both more positive and more negative comments from the teacher than did girls, confirming earlier findings by Spaulding, (1963) Felsenthal concluded, therefore, that fewer negative comments related to reading achievement, although frequency of teacher contacts did not.

The evidence documenting the disproportionate number of boys who are discipline problems, grade repeaters, problem readers and slower developers than girls, leads researchers to frame their explanations in terms of the nature/nurture argument.

In an attempt to address the validity of these competing explanations, John McNeill (1964) studied 72 boys and 60 girls of kindergarten age. The children were enrolled in a reading program that was based on programmed instruction. The pupils sat in individual cubicles and were presented identical segments of reading material; the pace was the same for all and all received the same number of pre-recorded comments of encouragement. The opportunity and demand for responses was the same for all. After four months, the boys showed significantly higher scores on reading than did the girls. After completing the programmed phase, the youngsters were placed in a regular classroom setting which included a female teacher. After four months in the classroom, similar tests were administered. The boys were markedly behind the girls on these scores. Follow-up interviews revealed that in the classroom setting, boys not only received more punitive comments than did the girls, but also were receiving fewer opportunities to read.

Davis and Slobodan (1967) tested the McNeill hypothesis by conducting an observational study of ten first-grade classrooms. Their results showed that while boys and girls received equal treatment in terms of opportunities to respond and reception of punitive contacts during reading instruction, pupils _perceived_ that they were differentially treated by sex. Good and Brophy (1970) applied a more subtle and refined observational technique in order to pick up on possible differential treatment. Their study confirmed the results of the Davis and Slobodian study. Although differential treat-was not evident during reading, boys received nearly twice as many negative responses as did girls in the larger classroom setting. This suggests that cues received in non-reading contexts may be operating to infect the reading context.

Frazier and Sadker (1973) suggests that the problems boys encounter in their early years are the result of an interaction of early sex role training and the nature of the elementary school which is overwhelmingly feminine in orientation. In a cross-cultural study by Preston (1962), over a thousand reading scores for both German and American youngsters were analyzed. Results showed that while in the United States girls did much better than boys, in Germany the reverse was true. The author pointed out that in Germany the classroom was predominantly a male domain with primarily male teachers.

If we accept that genetic engineering and family retraining are not within the domain of the schools, then there is still room to maneuver on the question of sex bias in the schools. The power of contextual cues is illustrated by a study carried out by Katz (1972). Katz interviewed 169 undergraduate men and women from two colleges. Subjects were asked to respond to and complete a story based on one of the following two cues:

> All of Anne's classmates in medical school are men. After the first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her class
>
> Half of Anne's classmates in medical school are women. After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her class.

The first cue places Anne in an all-male context, where she is likely to be perceived as an exception. The second cue places her in a context in which the presence of women is legitimized. Coding the reactions of the respondents to Anne's situation, Katz reported the following results:

1. Females perceived Anne's achievement as equally acceptable in both conditions. Anne was not perceived as deviant for having succeeded in a typically male domain.

2. Males perceived Anne's achievement differentially according to condition. Males responding to the first cue thought Anne was deviant. They offered as an explanation for her success the fact that she was probably extremely attractive and therefore distracted her male colleagues. In the balanced sex condition, however, Anne was significantly less likely to be perceived as a deviant, deceptive female who achieved success by illegitimate means.

This study demonstrates the importance of specifying the appropriateness of environment. If it is perceived as legitimate and appropriate for one to achieve, then achievement will be perceived as natural. If the social construction of reality does not legitimatize participation (as in the first cue), then success by the exception will not be reinforced.

Although we can infer from these studies that female success is perceived by society as appropriate at the lower levels and then shifts to legitimize male success at the higher levels, we still do not understand the processes through which differential results are produced.

Frazier and Sadker suggest that at puberty, dramatic changes occur both in school and among the young adults who are pupils. School becomes a setting that is clearly male-dominated. Athletics become extremely important and legitimized by the school; especially those in which females do not compete, e.g., football, basketball, baseball, wrestling, etc. Role models for males begin to appear with more male teachers, coaches, and heroes in literature and science. The peer society becomes extremely powerful and, aping the larger society, sex role differences are made explicit. Patricia Sexton

(1969) reported in 1966 that high school females worry most about acceptance by others and personal attributes, while boys worry most about achievement. Eleanor Maccoby (1966) points out that patterns of under-achievement by girls typically begin at puberty, while those for boys occur at an earlier point. She cites a linkage to the adult female role as the source of the achievement drop-off for girls.

The cultural linkage of achievement and role expectations is highlighted by two studies. Baughman, in his Millfield study, reports that from the age of seven to the age of fourteen, sex differences occur for both Black and Euro-American youngsters. On the basis of SAT scores, the typical pattern is this: Euro-American girls do better than Euro-American boys, who do better than Black girls who do better than Black boys. In general, the differences between Euro-American boys and Black girls are so small that they are not statistically significant. In some instances the Black girls outperform the Euro-American boys as in the case of spelling. Although the amount of research on Black sex differences is minimal, there is one other study that may be cited. Hoyce Ladner reports in Slaughter's article "Becoming an Afro-American Woman" (1972), that the norms for adolescent Black females are quite different than those for Euro-Americans. Ambitious Black females are reported to resist emotional ties with men, as they perceive education as a key to upward mobility. Femininity is perceived as independence coupled with the responsibility to be as competent as possible in order to fight the double bind of discrimination.

On the basis of the available data, it seems reasonable to assume that an understanding of the processes which yield differential academic success according to gender must account for a variety of factors including socialization patterns, sub-cultural values and contextual factors within the school itself.

Ethnicity as a Social Status Variable

The concept of ethnicity is not one that lends itself to universal definition. According to Barbara Sizemore, (1973) who was recently appointed Superintendent of Schools in Washington, D.C., an ethnic group is any group of people of the same "race," religion and/or nationality who share a common and distinct culture. Moynihan and Glazer (1963) define ethnic group as interest groups which have arisen in response to a new social order, rather than deriving from mass immigration to the U.S. In agreement with Oscar Handlin (1951), they assert that ethnic groups are recreated continuously by new experience even after distinctive language, custom and culture losses. Wax (1969), uses Barth's definition of ethnic groups as categories of ascription and group identification by the actors themselves which thus possess the characteristic or organizing interaction between people. Wax sees ethnicity as a sociopolitical rather than a cultural artifact. Touré uses culture to define a group's distinctive way of orienting in order to form relationships with nature, the land and other men. In working out these environmental arrangements, culture is manifested through creative expression.

Thus, whether the purpose is to categorize on a political, sociological or anthropological plane, the definition will vary.

The term "race" is confusing because of the connotations it implies. Van der Berghe (1967) cites four common definitions:

1. Physical anthropologists have defined "race" as various subspecies of Homo sapiens, of which 60 or so have been identified.
2. Laymen typically use "race" to connote human groups which share common cultural characteristics such as language or religion.
3. "Race" has been used synonymously with species, i.e., "the human race."

4. Social scientists have defined "race" in terms of human groups that define themselves and/or are defined by others as different on the basis of physical characteristics which in a social context imply moral, intellectual and other non-physical attributes or abilities.

None of the studies that are reported in this section contain definitions for what is referred to as "race" or "ethnicity." This is peculiar in light of their task which is to apply conceptualizations to social relations. Because one can only speculate on the implicit definitions of"race," it will be assumed, for purposes of this review, that the concept of "race" is not a valid concept. Ethnicity, as it relates to the Black and Euro-American populations, will be used and is conceptualized as "one's ethnicity is what one perceives himself to be and what one is perceived by others to be." This decision was not made to argue the validity or usefulness of either conceptualization, but rather to contribute to the management of the reporting of current and past research. It is recognized that this is a social definition tied to a particular point in history.

Few issues have consumed the attention of researchers in education to the degree that similarities or differences among Black and Euro-Americans has. This is partly due to the fact that issues related to ethnicity may be studied from so many analytical levels, from the macro or societal to the micro or psychological. In addition, there have been a number of explanatory frameworks applied to studies at each level of analysis which further suggests different and multiple interventions or developmental strategies. For purposes of this brief overview, we will attempt to limit the survey to studies that focus on the classroom level and differences and/or similarities among Black and Euro-American students and/or teachers.

In accord with a number of studies reported in the last 30 years on the public schools' ability to respond to differential students' needs, Coleman et al (1966) reported that Blacks scored lower on standard achievement tests than did Euro-Americans at all grade levels studied (grades 1, 3, 6, 9 and 12). In addition, the gap that occurs at grade one increases over time. In an attempt to account for these differences, they analyzed student characteristics such as academic motivations, future educational and occupational aspirations and self-concept. Black/Euro-American comparisons on motivational and aspirational factors yielded negligible differences, with more Blacks reporting they wanted to be among the best students and that they missed school less frequently because of truancy. Differences did show up on items designed to tap the degree to which concrete steps had been taken towards fulfilling aspirations. Fewer Blacks reported that they planned to go to college next year, had read a college catalogue, talked to a college official or planned to enter a profession. Even though the proportion of Black respondents was less in these categories, one-third to one-half of them had taken these steps.

Interesting differences did occur on items which dealt with sense of control and self-concept, while for Blacks it was correlated with sense of control over the environment. Thus, it appears that for Euro-Americans the primary issue is not whether or not there are constraints pertaining to college entrance but whether or not there is a specific belief about individual competence. For the Blacks, the critical factor is the social constraint which impedes entrance, regardless of self-concept.

Within a given social context, therefore, what happens in school becomes especially critical for the Black child. An analysis by Baughman (1971) is suggestive. In the Millfield study he matched children on four I.Q. levels: less than 80, 80-89, 90-99, and 100-109. Academic performance as measured by the Stanford Acheivement Test was determined for each subject. Plotting the correlations for children from the age of 7 to 14 inclusive, he found that while Black children in the upper ranges fell below their Euro-American counterparts in scholastic achievement, they outperformed the Euro-Americans at the lower I.Q. ranges. This suggests to Baughman that teachers in Black schools are oriented toward low-ability children, while the reverse is true for teachers of Euro-American children.

This interpretation suggests a failure on the part of teachers to develop Black talent. Is there evidence for designed retardation in our schools?

In a study of teacher perceptions of Black and Euro-American school beginners by Long and Henderson, (1971) teachers were asked to rate their pupils on 24 seven-point scales designed to describe classroom behavior. Ninety-one percent of the pupils were coded by teachers of the same ethnicity as they. Overall comparisons revealed no significant differences between the two groups. That is, Black and Euro-American teachers perceived their pupils in much the same way. Comparisons on specific items, however, did yield some differences. Of interest is the behavioral dimension which differentiated the two groups most clearly. As indicated above (see p. 163), academic progress for Black students was most closely predicted by the scale "good worker," while progress for Euro-Americans was most accurately reflected on the "leadership" scale. Long and Henderson assert that this is consonant with the differential social expectancies for the two groups, with Blacks traditionally perceived as workers and Euro-Americans as leaders.

A study by Gottleib (1964), investigated the perceptions of 89 Black and Euro-American elementary school teachers vis-a-vis their predominantly Black, low-income students. Using a 33-item check list, the five adjectives most frequently selected by Euro-American teachers to describe their students were: fun-loving, talkative, lazy, high-strung and rebellious. The five adjectives most frequently used by Black teachers were: fun-loving, happy, energetic, cooperative and ambitious. It is obvious that the Black teachers possessed a more positive attitude toward their students. Sources of job dissatisfaction supported this conclusion. Seventy-one percent of the Euro-American listed problems with their clientele (students) as the source of their dissatisfaction while the Blacks listed institutional variables (facilities, crowding) as factors. There is obviously ethnic variability among teachers as to their perceptions of their clientele.

It is generally asserted that there is a greater reliance on verbal facility than on any other single skill in school. It is critical to consider the relationship of speech and ethnicity. In a study of the effects of visual cues of ethnicity on speech ratings (Williams _et al_, 1970), fourty-four undergraduate majors rated the speech performance of youngsters appearing on videotape. Each subject rated three tapes: 1) a tape of a Euro-American child speaking the valued dialect of Euro-American English; 2) a tape of either a Mexican-American child _or_ a Black child speaking their respective dialects or Euro-American English; and 3) a tape of _either_ a Mexican-American _or_ a Black child speaking the dialect of Euro-American English spoken by the Euro-American child. In the third case, the voice of the Euro-American child was dubbed into the video tapes of the Mexican-American and the Black child. Findings indicated that visual cues did bias observer ratings. Tapes of Black and Mexican-American children with the valued dialect audio dubs were judged to be less confident and eager and more "non-standard" and ethnic than the tape of the Euro-American child speaking with the same voice.

The foregoing studies all relate the effects of ethnicity as a source of information, to decisions made by teachers. None of them provide an explanatory framework to explicate the process by which the information is used to affect educational outcomes. Two lines of inquiry have attempted to conceptualize data relating to ethnicity and educational outcomes in such a way that the process is clarified.

A series of studies by Cohen and her associates have emerged from theoretical work on diffuse status characteristics and expectations states (Cohen et al, 1970). The formal propositions developed in this theory attempt to account for features of power and prestige orders in small groups. These propositions have been tested in the laboratory and in the field. Bringing together Black and Euro-American junior high school boys in a series of four-man groups, Cohen gave them a decision-making problem requiring a collective solution. The task was carefully selected so that it would not be reflective of stereotypical competencies by either ethnic group. Measures of interaction and leadership among participants revealed that Euro-Americans were likely to dominate the discussions and were more likely to be influential. Using the theory, she explained these results by asserting that with no other basis for forming expectations other than relative skin color, Blacks would expect to do less well vis-a-vis Euro-Americans and that the Euro-Americans would expect them to do less well.

In a subsequent study, an intervention was administered which had two purposes: 1) to convince the Blacks of their own superior competence on a task, and 2) to elicit confirmation of this superior competence from the Euro-American subjects.

Black youngsters were taught how to build a two-transistor radio. In addition, they learned how to teach someone else how to build one. This study had three conditions: 1) the Blacks achieved competence on the two skills but had no contact with the Euro-Americans prior to performance on the criterion task, 2) Blacks acquired competence and then taught their Euro-American teammates how to build the radio; the criterion task was then introduced as an unrelated part of the experiment, and 3) the same as the second except that relevance was drawn between skills needed to build and teach about the radio and performance on the criterion task. Data analysis revealed that the first condition (Euro-Americans untreated) produced Euro-American dominance as in the baseline study. Both of the other conditions which included treatment of Euro-Americans produced equal status results. This does not mean that in every group all members participated equally, but rather the likelihood of assuming leadership in a given group was split evenly among Euro-American and Black participants.

The most recent phase of this line of inquiry was an attempt to translate the principles of the laboratory into a field setting. By doing this, the power and persistence of the treatment could be tested. An eight-week summer school experience was planned and implemented in a large urban area on the west coast. Only tentative data are presently available; however, it is clear that under carefully specified conditions, the success in the laboratory can be replicated in the field. In the classroom setting several measures (both objective and subjective) confirm the lack of Euro-American dominance in classroom interaction.

Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) conducted a rather comprehensive study directed toward testing the assumption that self-esteem (an individual's positive or negative orientation toward himself) among Blacks was lower than that of Euro-Americans. Data were collected from a random sample of 2,625 third-through twelfth-grade pupils distributed among 26 schools in Baltimore, Maryland. Much to the surprise of the researchers, it was discovered that as a group, Blacks were more likely than Euro-Americans to regard themselves positively. This finding held across age groups. Despite the fact that Blacks were over-represented at the lower levels of the SES scale (44% to 17%), were over-represented in percent of separated or never married families (44% to

24%), were over-represented at the lower end of the GPA range (two to three times as many Blacks as Euro-Americans were failing at all age levels, and were likely to rate lighter skin over darker skin as attractive (74%), the Black youngsters felt they were worthy.

In order to analyze this apparent inconsistency, the authors selected a conceptual framework that assumed a relationship or interaction between an individual characteristic (ethnicity) and a collective characteristic (environment). This particular type of analysis permits examination or explanation of a diversity of consequences within a given social context. Black children in predominantly Euro-American schools (dissonant context) were:

1) more likely to score lower in self-esteem,
2) more likely to have experienced the direct expression of ethnic prejudice, i.e., to report that they have been teased, left out of things or called names because of their ethnicity.
3) more likely to realize that their ethnic group holds the lowest position in the ethnic stratification order of the society,
4) more likely, if they come from separated or never-married families, to score lower in self-esteem than other Black children from separated or never-married families,
5) more likely, if they come from separated or never-married families, to report having been teased, left out of things, or called names because of their families.,
6) more likely to attain higher marks in school.

These findings suggest an important variable-comparison reference group. When the reference group of the Black subjects was also Black (consonant context) the results were quite different. Given the relatively high degree of homogeneity among critical status variables, a number of results can be explained in light of this concept.

1) Blacks perceived themselves to be as attractive as did whites. Unlike the Clark (1965) and related studies, the children were not asked to make comparisons between light-skinned and dark-skinned models, but used their membership group (Blacks in

general) or interaction group (the children around them) as a comparison group.

2) Although a larger proportion of Black children were represented in the lower SES levels, this did not affect their self-esteem to the degree it affected Euro-American youngsters. Again, the children used their membership and interaction groups for comparison rather than Euro-American (a non-membership group).

3) Among the Black children from separated or never-married families in a consonant, i.e. Black, context, self-exteem was higher than for those in a dissonant, i.e. predominately Euro-American context. Given the higher incidence of separated or never-married families among the Black sample population, it is argued that this status is not unusual and therefore not particularly disvalued.

4) Black children receive higher grades in segregated settings but have lower self-esteem than Black children in integrated settings.

The authors argue that the Black child's self-esteem can be predicted on the basis of who comprises the comparison group; with whom he is in actual association in a sustained social relationship, whether Black or Euro-American. The significance of the interaction group for comparison is just as powerful for Euro-Americans. This particular finding is corroborated by an earlier study by Preston and Bayton (1941). Using college students, they found that the Black students lowered their goal levels in the presence of dissonant reference groups, but not in the presence of a consonant one.

An additional factor was found to contribute to self-esteem: the perceptions of significant others. Rosenberg identified four sources of significant others for children--parents, siblings, friends and teachers. Lacking data on siblings, they nevertheless found that Blacks are just as likely as Euro-Americans to perceive that significant others think highly of them. This in turn correlates strongly with self-esteem.

Thus, Rosenberg and Simmons have contributed a valuable perspective from which to view the voluminous and relatively consistent data that have been collected in the past several years. Social context, reference group and the role of significant others provide a framework that suggests sources of self-esteem.

The studies reported in the early part of this overview confirm that differential expectations, evaluations and opportunities are derived on the basis of ethnicity. The thrust of the descriptive literature has been to document some of the disadvantages incurred by those who are non-white, primarily low-income people. The studies by Cohen have shown that when no other characteristics are present to distinguish among people (i.e., age, sex, etc.), then the dimension of ethnicity will be used. Further, she has shown that at this point in history, to be Black or Euro-American are differentially valued states. The negative effects (depressed initiation and influence of Blacks vis-a-vis Euro-Americans on cooperative tasks) were shown to be ameliorated by an intervention she designed. The intervention involved treatment of both Black and Euro-American subjects, and it is shown to produce equal status behavior on performance over an extended period of time.

The studies of Cohen dealt with desegregated laboratory and school settings. A study by Rosenberg and Simmons tried to capture the sources and social context which produced self-concept in both ethnically mixed and separated settings. They reported that three variable contributed to self-concept: social context, reference group and the role of significant others. They asserted that Black self-concept suffers when the social context, reference group, or significant others are Euro-Americans, and does not when they are primarily Black. What the literature does not suggest is the variables which become salient in urban schools composed of non Euro-Americans, non-middle class children who are taught by teachers from an Euro-American culture. We do not know what variables become important to the teacher who must make decisions in the classroom which will affect the behavioral outcomes of these children. But certainly these findings must raise questions with respect to extant theories upon which desegregation of public schools rests.

CHAPTER VIII

Prior Performance as a Source of Information

Joan R. Bloom

Some of the information teachers use in making decisions is based on the previous performance of the students. Included in this source of information are previous grades, as well as test scores on both achievement and intelligence tests. Our model suggests that, at some point, teachers will make decisions using performance information. These decisions will be communicated to the students and will differentially affect the behavorial outcomes of the students.

It is the purpose of this chapter to provide an overview of the literature in the area. Further connections will be made between studies, important theoretical and methodological points will be stressed, and the state of the research will be evaluated.

The chapter's organization is based on the model presented in Chapter VI. An overview of the research studies that were reviewed is presented which suggests the range of topics included. Many of the studies took place in classrooms, others took place in research laboratories.

Forms of Performance Information Received by the Teacher

Performance information utilized as part of experimental manipulation takes two different forms: achievement test information and I.Q. test information. In some of the studies reviewed, the teachers were not given actual scores but were told that specific children in their class would be "bloomers," were "bright" children, or could be expected to increase their future class performance based on tests administered by the experimenters. This was the case in the controversial Rosenthal and Jacobsen study (1968).

In several of the replications of this study the same manipulation was used, (see Claiborn, 1969; Jose and Cody, 1971; Fleming and Anttonen, 1970; and Mendels and Flanders, 1973). A slight variation of the "expectancy" indication used by Rosenthal and Jacobsen is found in the study done by Pelligrini and Hicks (1972). In this study of children in a tutoring program and their tutors, the latter were advised that their Mexican-American tutees were either "very bright," "average," or "below average" in intelligence. The tutors were given I.Q. ranges in which their tutee's scores fit.

Actual scores on I.Q. tests were also used by investigators in studying the effect of performance information on teachers' decisions. For example, the investigations by Beez (1970), Pelligrini and Hicks (1972), and one of the conditions in the Fleming and Antonen study (1971) provided the teachers with I.Q. scores. Achievement ratings by teachers and achievement test scores have also been used by researchers in their attempts to ascertain the effects of performance information on teachers' decision-making. Cantwell (1971) had teachers rate their students on mathematics and language arts achievement. Primary Mental Abilities scores were given to teachers in another condition of the Fleming and Anttonen study. While Good (1970) and Brophy and Good (1970) studied teacher interaction with those pupils ranked high and low on academic achievement by the teacher, Dusek (1973) correlated the effects of teachers' rankings on the dimension of achievement at the beginning of the year with the actual scoring on the Stanford Achievement Test at five subsequent intervals.

Validity of Information. Many of the studies relied upon the use of false information to alter the decisions that the teachers made. All of the studies in the tradition of the Rosenthal-Jacobsen study would be included under this classification. Fleming and Anttonen (1970) went one step further. In the third condition of their study, teachers were provided with inflated I.Q. scores. At the end of the study, the teachers were asked to assess the accuracy of the various types of test information. The test information was seen as less accurate for the inflated I.Q. group than for the accurately reported I.Q. group, (See Pitt, 1956 also). It appears that the use of false information may be resisted by teachers in making decisions about children and is not consistently shown to bias the decisions the teachers made. Whether lack of findings is due to skepticism regarding the validity of false information that the teachers received or whether it is due to the resistance of teachers to using any prior performance information is only partially answered by these studies.

In some of the more recent studies, the teachers' perceptions of the students are used as the independent variable. Although this information may also be biased, deception in the studies is eliminated. For example, Brophy and Good studied the interaction between teachers and preselected students in four elementary school classrooms. The basis for the selection of the students in each classroom was the teacher's perception of their academic ability.

Differing Importance of Performance Information. Previously, two of the forms which performance information takes were described. Many of the investigations assumed that performance information was perceived as equally important to all of the teachers. The validity of this assumption was the focal point of the following investigation. The purpose of the study by Fleming and Anttonen (1970) was to evaluate the kinds of different performance information teachers use.

Four different approaches for providing teachers with mental ability information about their students were compared. Within each classroom, each student was randomly assigned to one of four kinds of test-information conditions; (1) Kuhlman-Anderson Intelligence Tests scores reported to teachers with a 16-point inflation, (2) Primary Mental Abilities (PMA) percentiles for verbal and non-verbal factors reported to teachers without I.Q. equivalents, (3) no intelligence test information provided, (4) Kuhlman-Anderson Intelligence Test Information reported back as tested. The group for whom inflated I.Q. data were given to teachers did not exceed in achievement, self-concept, or teacher grades the no-information group, traditional I.Q. information group, or PMS percentile report group. The data from this study corroborate findings from the doctoral research of Pitt (1956) who also studied the effect of different variations of I.Q. information on teachers. A sample of 165 fifth-grade boys with I.Q. scores of 94 or better were trichotomized. Teachers were given correct I.Q. scores for one group of students, I.Q. scores increased by 10 points for another and I.Q. scores decreased by 10 points for the third group. The information was given to the teachers at the beginning of the year. At the end of the school year no differences between the groups were found on either grades or achievement test scores.

The Pitt study contrasts with the Fleming and Anttonen study in several significant ways which serves to increase the generalizability of the study. While both studies took place within elementary school systems, the former was a larger urban school system while the latter was a small suburban system; the former was in the United States, while the latter was in Canada; the sample of the former consisted of female teachers, while the latter sample consisted of male teachers.

A second finding from the Fleming and Anttonen study is also of interest. Prior to receiving the class lists with the intelligence test information, the 39 teachers taking part in the study completed a questionnaire designed to elicit teachers' attitudes toward testing. Items from the questionnaire became a measure of the teacher's opinions toward tests. Scores from Stanford Achievement Tests given to the children later in the year were correlated with the teacher opinion measure. The results confirmed the prediction that children whose teachers have high opinions about the value of intelligence tests will score higher in academic achievement than children with teachers who have low opinions about intelligence testing. This finding was particularly true of students in middle socioeconomic status schools (Fleming and Anttonen, 1971). In other words, the teachers' opinion of the importance of performance information differed; some teachers are more susceptible to performance information than others. When teachers had a high opinion of the information, outcomes for the children were positively affected (see also Mendels and Flanders, 1973).

One other study investigated the effect on performance of having versus not having performance information prior to a child's entering a new class, and how if affects the teachers' decision making. W.B. Seaver's (1971) doctoral research focused on the consequences for a particular student of being assigned to a teacher who had experience with the student's older sibling. The data were obtained from the school records for elementary school children in an upper-middle class Chicago suburb. Seventy-nine pairs of siblings were identified and separated according to whether both the older and younger siblings were taught by the same or a different first-grade teacher. The group of older siblings were then dichotomized into high and low groups by independent judges. The criteria used by the judges were first-grade I.Q. scores, Stanford Achievement test scores, and grade point averages. Two conditions were created: children whose older sibling had the same teacher became the experimental condition, while children whose older sibling had a different teacher became the control condition. The dependent variable was the measure of achievement of the younger siblings in Grade 1. A factorial design was employed having two levels each of older sibling performance, pupil sex, older sibling sex, and different versus same teacher. Findings on four of the subtest of the Stanford Achievement Test confirmed the prediction that a teacher's experience with an older sibling is a salient form of prior performance information and has measurable effects. In other words, younger siblings of "good" students obtained higher achievement scores if assigned to their sibling's teacher than if assigned to a different teacher, while the younger sibling of "poor" students did better with new teachers than their peers did with the teachers who had their older siblings.

The study is important for two reasons. First, it does indicate the biasing effect of prior performance information on the teacher's decision making. It also suggests a way of designing future studies without contrived experimental conditions of deceptions of uncertain validity. With archival data such as school records, the influence of both positive and negative information about children is questionable, yet a concern of educational researchers is the negative biasing effect on teachers of status, performance, and behavioral information, and consequently on educational outcomes of children. One deficiency of the use of archival data is also pointed out by this study. The academic standing of the older siblings is known, but whether the teachers formed their impression of children in family "X" based on academic standing only, or disruptive and other classroom behavior only correlated with scholastic measures cannot be determined.

Communication of Teacher Decisions

Teachers communicate their decisions to students by the ways in which they interact with them as well as by the assignments they make, the way they evaluate student assignments, and the learning groups in which they place children. In recent years a good deal of educational researchers' attention has been paid to the way teachers and students interact with one another in the classroom. A selective review of the literature on teacher interaction studies follows. The review is limited to studies that focus on the relation between teachers' prior performance information about a student or a group of students and how decisions based on this knowledge are communicated in the classroom.

Amount of material taught. The following studies suggest that teachers decide how much material they will teach a student dependent on the decisions they make based on the performance information they have available. Beez studied the behavior of 60 graduate student tutors who worked with 60 preschool students from a Headstart program. The tutors were led to believe that their tutees were either "high" or "low" in ability based on faked psychological profiles. Actually the children were randomly assigned. No performance information was available to determine whether the "high" and the "low" group were comparable. Criterion measures were the number of symbols learned during the tutoring session, the number of symbols that the tutors actually attempted to teach, and the tutor's post hoc ratings of their "pupils." He found that the "high" pupils learned significantly more symbols than the "lows," the tutors attempted to teach more symbols to the "highs" than to the "lows," and the tutors formed more favorable impressions of the former as to their learning potential. While tutoring differs from classroom teaching, and good teaching or tutoring practices suggest that higher ability students should learn more than lower ability students, the study does suggest that prior performance information negatively biases the amount of material that a teacher will attempt to teach (V.W. Beez, 1970).

The findings of W.E. Brown (1970) corroborate those of Beez. Ten teacher trainees were given psychological report data about eighty first-graders. This data contained information on intelligence, family economic status, and personality -- information similar to information often available to teachers in students' cumulative records. Manipulation of this report information was the independent variable; the criterion measure was the number of paired-associate list of states and their capital cities that the trainees attempted to teach. This investigation was a short-term experiment also.

In summary, the findings of the two studies are consistent. Their principal value is the information they provide as to how teachers' differential judgment of their students affects the amount of material they attempt to teach.

Classroom interaction. A review of the literature, directed specifically at teacher behavior, is found in Rosenshine's (1971) Teaching Behavior in Student Achievement. He reviews fifty-one studies of teacher behavior, arranged under the headings: approval and disapproval, cognitive behavior of the teacher, flexibility and variety, enthusiasm, student/teacher interaction, and time spent in curriculum. While Rosenshine identified some variables that are consistently associated with student outcomes, these relationships are difficult to interpret in useful terms for educational developers. There are two general reasons for this. First, most of the studies Rosenshine reviewed report their data as correlations between a dimension of teacher behavior and student outcome. What an educational developer needs to know is the magnitude of the relationship, as well as how much of a change in the second variable (student outcomes) can be predicted from a change in the first (teacher behavior). Another criticism of the studies is that if demographic and other variables account for all but a small percentage of the variations in student outcomes as the Coleman Report suggests, then it is a waste of time to debate which predictors account for the remaining variation. Rather than focus on differences between teachers, perhaps it is time to begin looking for differences within a teacher's classroom.

The studies reviewed below focus on the link between a teacher's decision about the probable success or failure of a student and her subsequent communications.

The following studies are all concerned with either qualitative or quantitative aspects of the communications between teachers and their students. Some of the studies investigated student outcomes as well. By focusing on the communicative process, information regarding the relative influence of differential aspects of this process is provided.

M. Rothbart _et al_ (1971) investigated teacher-pupil interaction in micro-teaching. Thirteen female undergraduate and fifty-two high schools students were observed during thirty-minute discussion of literature. Two of the four students in each micro-teaching group were labeled as having " greater academic ability" relative to the other two students who were labeled as "lacking in potential." Videotapes of the discussions were scored for (a) the amount of time the teacher spent attending to the high and low-expectation students, (b) the amount of time the high - and low-expectation students spent talking, and (c) the number of positive and negative reinforcements given to the subject by the teacher. Following the experimental session, the teacher was asked to rate each of the four students on a series of personality attributes. During the fifteen-minute discussion period, the teachers spent more time attending to the "highs" than the "lows." No differences were found on the positive reinforcement measure, and so little negative reinforcement data was scored that it was not analyzed. Teachers rated the "highs" as more intelligent, and having greater potential for success, while the "lows" were rated as needing more approval. The other rated attributes did not discriminate between subjects.

B.J. Willis (1970) asked each of five teachers of special classes to rank their eight students from most efficient to least efficient as learners. The teachers "interaction with the top - and bottom" ranked students was observed in simulated classroom sessions of thirty-minutes a day for eight days. Measures of teacher-pupil interaction showed teachers ignoring bottom-ranked students more often than the top-ranked students, as well as providing more verbal responses to the top - than to the bottom-ranked students.

A study by T.L. Good (1970) investigated the opportunities of first-grade teachers to respond to their pupils in class. The subjects were selected from predominately Euro-American, working-class neighborhoods in Texas. The teachers in the four observed classrooms were all women who had taught for at least three years. Teachers' rankings of achievement were used to select pupils to be observed. Students at the bottom (N=4), midpoint (N=4) and top (N=4) of the rank order were selected. Opportunities to respond which were directed to only one student were recorded. The results of the study are based on ten hours of observation in each of the classrooms. The findings indicate that children's opportunities to respond are related to pupil achievement as rated by the teacher. While the high achievers received a greater number of opportunities than the low achievers did in all of the classrooms, the opportunity to respond varied from class to class. Low achievers received far fewer opportunities in all classes but one (in which they tied the middle-ranked group). Thus, differential interaction patterns between teachers and pupils were substantially related to teachers' earlier ratings of pupils achievement. Since this study was done on the first grade, consequences for the child of being a low achiever appear to start very early in school. Traditionally the classroom has been used as the unit of analysis in interaction studies. This study points to the great variation within a classroom between high and low achievers and suggests a methodological correction for future research.

Using a somewhat more complex design, Brophy and Good (1970) again studied teacher-student interaction in four first-grade classrooms. Selection of pupils for observation was again based on teachers' subjective rankings on achievement. The sample consisted of the top three boys and the top three girls as well as the bottom three boys and bottom three girls. The interaction scheme included new categories. Response opportunities were coded separately as to type (open questions directed to the class as a whole or direct questions aimed at a particular child), the quality of the child's response (correct, incomplete or partially correct, incorrect or no response), and the type of feedback given by the teacher (praise, criticism, supplying the answer, repeating the question, etc.). In addition the hand-raising behavior of the children was tallied as a measure of their tendency to seek response opportunities. Observations were made in each classroom on 4 separate days.

It was found that high achievers initiated significantly more contacts with their teachers than did low achievers, but that the total number of teacher-afforded response opportunities did not differ significantly between the two groups. Qualitatively there were some interesting differences, which the authors reported as follows:

> The data show that the teachers consistently favored the highs over the lows in demanding and reinforcing quality performance. Despite the fact that the highs gave more correct answers and fewer incorrect answers than did the lows, they were more frequently praised

> when correct, and less frequently criticized when incorrect or unable to respond. Furthermore, the teachers were more persistent in eliciting responses from the highs than they were with the lows. Conversely, they were more likely to supply the answer or call on another child when reacting to the lows than the highs.....Finally, the teachers failed to give any feedback whatever only 3.33% of the time when reacting to highs, while the corresponding figure for lows is 14.75%, a highly significant difference (p. 372).

Kester and Letchworth (1972) investigated interaction difference between twenty-three english and math teachers and seventh graders who they were told were either "bright" or of "average" intelligence. In reality all of the students in the study had average scores on the Otis-Lennon Mental Abilities Test. Three categories of interaction were recorded during the four observation periods: positive, accepting, supporting ability-related teacher interactions; positive, verbal interactions which had no direct references to the student's ability; and positive, non-verbal communications. Other criterion measures were scores on the Language Arts and Math sub-tests of the Stanford Achievement Tests, the Otis-Lennon Mental Abilities Test, and seven evaluative differential scales for each of the school-related attitudes. The study began during the first week of school and lasted for eight weeks.

Changes in teacher-student interaction occurred for the experimental group as compared to the control group ("average" students). The interaction became more positive and more time was spent with the ostensibly superior student. No differences were found between the two groups in terms of the achievement tests, I.Q. tests, or semantic differential scales. Since both experimental and control pupils were taught by the same teachers, the differential treatment cannot be accounted for in terms of teacher difference. This study supports the interaction studies reported above and suggests that interaction differences between teachers and children continues as they go through school.

Meichenbaum et al (1969) investigated interaction between teachers and fourteen female adolescent offenders who were institutionalized in a training school. The girls were taught by four different teachers who had been advised that six of the girls were "potential intellectual bloomers." The research team was interested in the effect of previous attitudes held by the teachers so they selected three of the girls whom the teachers identified as having high academic potential and the other three as having uniformly low academic potential. Criterion measures were 1) the girl's academic performance, 2) the girl's classroom behavior, and 3) the teachers' assessed behavior. Academic performance was assessed by objective test scores in some of the courses and subjective grades in others. Behavior for both the teachers and the students was recorded at two times--several months before the experiment began and during the experimental phase. The results were based on changes in "appropriate" and "inappropriate" classroom behaviors for the students and the quantity and quality (positive or negative) of teacher-initiated interaction. The results indicate that teachers did not increase the amount of interaction to the "bloomers," but did increase the number of positive interactions directed to them. Two of the teachers increased the positive interactions with the experimental subjects, while the other two teachers decreased the amount of negative interactions they initiated to these students. Further, the academic and classroom behavior of the "bloomers" was modified during the two weeks of observation. Objective test scores improved during the experimental period, but subjective grades did not, and inappropriate classroom behavior decreased.

The principal value of this study is the information it gives about the reactions of different teachers to performance information. It corroborates the findings of previous interaction studies which showed that a difference in the quality of teacher interactions follows from the teacher's having an increased expectation for the success of some students relative to others. This study also hints at the behavioral outcomes accrued by the child, a decrease of inappropriate classroom behavior, and an increase in the scores on subject quizzes.

Seven studies on the interaction between teacher and student have been reviewed. Inconsistent results are reported on the quantity of interaction teachers direct toward the children they believe to be "brighter," of "higher academic potential," or "bloomers." Three of the studies show that the teacher directs more of her attention to the student who is relatively higher either in her estimation or in the estimation of the researcher as communicated to the teacher. Two of the studies suggest that the "high" students as compared to the "lows" initiate more than do the "lows." The study by Brophy and Good (1970) did not find significant differences in the response opportunities afforded by the teachers between the "high" and the "lows".

Four of the studies investigated qualitative differences in interaction. Three of the four found that the teacher's responses to her students were based on her differential judgment of them. The Kester and Letchworth study (1972) and the study by Meichenbaum (1969) included outcome measures. No differences were found in the former study on achievement and I.Q. test scores. Differences were found in the latter study on the grades when subject material was tested by subjective means.

Grouping. In public education, the term "grouping" has been a broad rubric subsuming a wide variety of organizational plans, selection criteria, instructional methodologies and educational philosophies. As the school is essentially a group setting, methods have had to be devised to make the instruction of groups of children more effective and/or manageable. At the level of the school, organization can be vertical, i.e. grades, multi-graded, or nongraded (continuous progress schools). Whatever the chosen vertical organization, a compatible plan for the school's horizontal organization must also emerge, i.e. a plan which assigns pupils to teachers, rooms and curricular programs (Goodland, 1960). While the vertical and its concomitant horizontal organization of the school are not decisions directly controlled by the teacher, the allocation of students into tracks, streams, and within class grouping arrangement are within his purview.

In 1958-59, the National Educational Association (NEA) Research Division studied administrative practices in urban school districts (urban districts have a population of 2,500 or more). An estimated 77.6% of the urban districts practices either full or limited ability grouping in the elementary grades. Given that such a high percentage of schools do use ability grouping, then the type of grouping chosen and the allocation of students into groups is a method that schools, and teachers within these schools use for communicating teacher decisions to the children.

Homogeneous grouping refers to the organization of instructional classes or segments of classes on the basis of students' similarity on one or more specific characteristics. The criterion for this classification may be age, sex, social maturity, I.Q., achievement, learning style, or a combination of these or other variables. Homogeneous ability grouping is one form of homogeneous grouping and generally refers to the use of standardized measures of intelligence, aptitude, or achievement in a given subject area in classifying students into separate ability categories and instructional class units (Esposito, 1973).

Whether to group or not to group on the basis of ability has been a hotly debated issue of teachers, administrators, and the public for over forty years. Unfortunately, this issue has been argued more on the basis of ideology or personal preference than on empirical evidence. It should also be noted that a decision to group children homogeneously using any type of standardized test performance may also mean that the children in both the highest and the lowest ability groupings will also be alike in ethnicity and socio-economic status.

The Research Division of NEA, after summarizing fifty studies on ability grouping concludes (NEA, 1968):

> The reviewed research studies have been selected to include pupils grouped according to several ways of identifying ability (academic achievement, IQ, teacher judgement, etc.) and by combinations of these criteria. Reviewed also are as many types of heterogeneous grouping. Some studies showed gains in favor of ability grouping or no statistical differences among grouping methods in pupil achievement as measured by standardized tests.

One of the most extensive recent studies is an experiment in the New York City Schools conducted by Goldberg and his associates (1966). The sample consisted of 86 classes organized into fifteen different patterns of ability level and spread. A longitudinal design was used with measurements collected over a two year period, beginning with children in the fourth grade. While the sample size was large, it was not representative. Excluded from the sample were schools with predominantly low socioeconomic status or non-white pupil populations. It also should be noted that the experimental manipulation consisted only of setting up fifth-grade sections according to specified grouping patterns. No information was collected as to what went on in the classroom or how teachers were assigned to classrooms, or anything about the content of classes or the pedogogical methods used. The dependent measures in the study were tests measuring achievement in several subjects, attitudinal questionnaires, and classroom mean increments of achievement. Some of the findings of this study were: a) the presence of gifted children in a class had some "upgrading" effect upon the "bright," but not the "gifted" students*, b) the presence of "slow learners" in a class did not have any consistent effect, c) comparisons of classes differing in range of "achievement" favored a broad rather than a narrower range, d) differences between classes of the same "ability" distribution pattern were generally greater than differences between different "ability" patterns. The findings as a whole indicate that ability grouping alone does not have a strong impact upon the performance of most students.**

A weakness of much ability grouping research is that few studies are based on a general model of classroom dynamics. A number of factors, none of which were controlled for in the preceding study, may explain or specify the conditions under which certain patterns are stronger or weaker.

Two studies by Schrank (1968, 1970) investigated the effects of ability group labeling on teacher's decisions in a college freshman mathematics course. The two reports may be considered as experimental and a control condition of a single study. Students were allocated between sections randomly although the usual procedure was for the allocation to be based on ability. In the first study, the teachers were not aware that placement of the 100 students was random, while in the second study, consisting of 420 students, they were. Criterion measures were test and course grades. For the first year, the highest and lowest labeled sections differed significantly on all test and course grade comparisons. In addition, the five sections were almost perfectly ordered on criterion averages and labeled ability, from lowest to highest. In the second study, few significant differences between pairs of higher and lower labeled groups were found. The findings are suggestive of how ability group labels may bias teachers' perceptions of students.

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* In social studies, the upgrading effect was on the less able classmates.

** See also NEA Research Report, 1968.

A second conclusion from the NEA Research Report is:

> Ability grouping tends to succeed when there is a modification of materials, objectives, curriculum, and teaching methods (p. 44).

There is no evidence in the study by Goldberg and associates (1966) that teachers did this when given the opportunity. On the contrary, it appeared that a narrowing of the range of ability for low-ability students simply led teachers to teach "less of the same" to their slower pupils, even though

> pupils of comparable ability in the broad range appeared to benefit from exposure to the content probably intended for the brighter pupils as shown by the greater increments of low ability as shown in science and vocabulary when in the broad range than the narrow range (p.161).

In other words, what seemed to operate in the homogeneous low-ability classes was a biasing effect on the teachers rather than a teaching approach especially oriented toward these students. This interpretation is corroborated by the findings of Beez (1970) and Brown (1970). The potential advantages of such a teaching approach has yet to be tested.

In summary, the studies on ability grouping as a teacher decision, provide inconsistent information as to the beneficial achievement outcomes for students. As the NEA Research Review concludes:

> Many studies on ability grouping deal with the effects on academic achievement as measured by standardized tests, but only a few have attempted to examine the effects of grouping procedures on pupils' attitudes, self-concepts, and other factors in their development. It may be that for some children, the practice of ability grouping produces undesireable effects in specific areas of development (p. 44).

Raymond Ernatt (1964) investigated the attitudes of 582 pupils in the fourth, fifth and sixth grade from three public schools in low socio-economic areas in Detroit. The children were grouped into high, medium, and low ability according to I.Q., sex and level of reading. His finding suggest that the grouping plan was most adverse in its effects on the children in the lowest groups. Amongst these children there appeared to be strained personal relations, less favorable perceptions of the reading teacher, concern of parents and pupils over group assignment, and pupils' lack of reading achievement.

The anthropological observations of Ray Rist (1970) provide striking anecdotes of the effects of the grouping practice in his study. The children placed at table 1 were referred to by the teacher as her "fast learners." Tables 2 and 3 were reserved for "slow learners."

> Though the blackboard stretched along one side of the room in front of all three tables, the assignments and drawings done by the teacher were consistently on the board space in front of those children at table 1. Thus, those at table 2 and even more so at table 3 had difficulty in observing the teacher's blackboard activities...(p.249).

One penalty for being seated at the "slow learners" table is not being able to see the blackboard. A second seems to be derogation by one's classmates at table 1. The following examples are comments made by children at table 1 about the children at table 2 or 3;

> Jim starts to say out loud that he is smarter than Tom. He repeats it over and over again. "I smarter than you. I smarter than you."

> When I asked Lilly what it was that she was drawing, she replied, "A parachute." Gregory interrupted and said, "She can't draw nothin'."
>
> Milt came over to me and told me to look at Lilly's shoes. I asked Milt why I should and he replied, "Because they so ragged and dirty" (p.25).

Rist states that he never observed a child from tables 2 or 3 direct a derogatory remark toward a child at the first table.

A third consequence of the grouping practice in this kindergarten classroom was increasing withdrawal by some of the children at the last tables, and less interaction attempted by the teacher, perpetuating the withdrawal.

Evaluation of Performance. In the following two studies, college students were asked to score pieces of work from hypothetical or absent pupils. In his dissertation research, Cahen supplied 256 teachers-in-training with fictitious information about pupils' I.Q. and reading group placement. The teachers were asked to score a learning readiness test. Teachers gave significantly higher scores to the allegedly "bright" pupils than they did to the allegedly "dull" pupils (Cahen, 1966). In the second study, also dissertation research, W.E. Simon (1969) found that when scorers (college students) were told that their twelve-year-old subjects were above average, they gave them significantly higher scores on the vocabulary subtest of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC) than scorers who were told their subjects were below average. Although protocol of real subjects were used (all within the average I.Q. range), the ability labels were assigned randomly. Both studies suggest that prior performance information has a biasing effect on the evaluation of subsequent performance. For the student who is perceived as "bright," this biasing effect is to his advantage, but if the student is perceived as "dull," the bias is clearly to his disadvantage.

Left unanswered by the review of the literature is whether the communication of the teacher's decision affects the child directly or indirectly. The process suggested by the halo effect and the experimenter bias effect is that the effect is direct. Source theory suggests that the process by which the teacher's expectations come to affect student outcomes is mediated through the child. Support for this position is supplied by the work of Brookover and his associates as well as the findings of Entwisle and Webster.

Brookover's findings indicate that a child's perceived concept of academic ability is related to the grades he receives in school. The relationship between perceived concept of academic ability and achievement remains even after the effect of I.Q. is controlled (Brookover et al, 1963, 1965, 1967). Morse examine the relationship between academic self-concept and grades received in school for the "Negro" portion of Brookover's sample and found that the relationship was maintained (Morse, 1963).

Webster (1969) reasoned that self-concept is a reflection of one's perceptions of how others see you. If the teacher is accepted by a child as a salient source of evaluation, the child's expectation for success on a task will be related to the positive or negative evaluation he receives from the teacher. The model depicted by Webster is that of a teacher evaluating one child relative to another. If the child perceives himself receiving positive evaluations as compared to a peer, the child will hold an expectation for success for himself and an expectation of failure for "other," While if he perceives that the "other" is receiving positive evaluations as compared to his reception of negative evaluations, a lower expectation for his own success relative to "other" will be formed.

Entwisle and Webster (1973a and b) applied these theoretical ideas as an intervention strategy for second, third, and fourth graders. The samples of students included in the series of experiments were both Black and white children and children from both urban and rural settings. The experiment had three phases. During the Phase I, children filled in words in a story skeleton and the experimenter was neutral, but noted who raised his hand. In Phase II, the attempt was made to manipulate upward the self-expectations for success of children in the experimental group--chosen for being at the mean of responses during Phase I. One child (experimental group) filled in words in a second story skeleton and was praised and encouraged by the experimenter after each word. The other children (control group) participated in a neutral procedure. Then the group of children (experimental and controls) were assembled, but in different groups for Phase III. They filled in a third story skeleton, the experimenter was again neutral and noted who raised hands. In general the same experimental procedure was used for the three series. Both the focus and the samples changed for each of the series. Both the focus and the samples will be briefly stated, the results from the studies will be described, and then the major findings and their implications will be discussed.

The focus of concern in the First Experimental Series was task development and general feasibility of the research program. Based on the positive findings from this series of experiments, the Second Experimental Series focused upon determining the generality of the effect across societal status groups. In the Third Series the focus was on pursuing possible refractoriness to the expectation-raising treatments as well as constructing some special control group to rule out alternative interpretations of the results.

The samples considered in the series of experiments are as follows: Experimental Series I: urban Black children and rural middle-class Euro-American children of both sexes from grades three and four. It should be noted that the experimenters were either Euro-American middle-class males or females. Experimental Series II: middle-class Euro-American suburban children of both sexes from grades two, three, and four. Experimental Series III: the sample of the first replication study consisted of urban Black children of both sexes from grades three and four. Experimenters were Black female college students. The second replication study consisted of experiments with only girls of the third and fourth grades in a Euro-American middle-class subruban school. Subjects of the Special Control Experiments were third-grade, Euro-American, middle-class suburban children.

The results of the experiments indicate the following:

1) The amount of volunteering as indicated by handraising of the children was increased by the experimental intervention. Children in the experimental condition as compared to children in the control condition showed significant gains from Phase I to Phase III.
2) When individual comparisons were made by variables, the white rural sample made greater gains in volunteering than did the Black urban children, and third graders increased their rates of volunteering more than fourth graders.
3) Black experimenters were more successful than Euro-American experimenters in producing a gain in the rate of volunteering of Black children.
4) Euro-American, middle-class suburban girls were the group least affected by the experimental manipulation. On replication, an increase in volunteering occurred, but the increase was not statistically significant.

5) Euro-American suburban middle-class children from grades one and two also showed significant increases in rate of volunteering with the exceptions already noted (Euro-American third-Fourth-grade girls).

6) In assessing the basic experimental procedure, an alternative interpretation was considered. The alternative interpretation consists of one or both of two basic arguments: (1) experimental group children are responding to the situational rewards of receiving extra attention from an adult during Phase II; (2) experimental group children gain confidence through the additional practice of constructing an additional story during Phase II. Either or both of these elements can be combined with the implicit assumptions about behavior reinforcement to explain the increased handraising observed for experimental group children, without reference to assumptions dealing with changes in the child's cognitions about his ability. Treatment of the special control group children incorporates the "special attention" and "practice" features of the experimental procedure, but omits the positive evaluations that the theory asserts are essential in this situation for producing increased expectations for success in these children. The control and special control groups both show essentially zero changes. The experimental group shows a gain in handraising while the special control group does not ($p. < .05$). In summary, both alternative explanations were ruled out.

The data from this series of experiments have been dealt with in detail because of the important implications. These experiments suggest that the process by which teacher decisions are communicated to the child is through tors dissatisfied with competing explanations for differential a [illegible] nd disgruntled with current strategies for intervention, the study and [illegible] plications were immediately appealing;

> There are no experiments to show that a change in pupils' skin color will lead to improved performance. There is, however, the experiment described in this book to show that change in teacher expectation can lead to improved intellectual performance (Rosenthal-Jacobsen, 1968, p. 182).

As a number of researchers have pointed out, Rosenthal and Jacobsen's explanation was accepted ahead of its verification. Some of the research previously cited does suggest that this approach to the problem of differential achievement of different social classes and ethnic groups is fruitful. A careful look at their study appears useful as a guide to evaluating other studies in this section.

The original study took place in the Oak School in South San Francisco, California. The sample consisted of eighteen classrooms. Classes (designated as fast, medium, and slow in reading) at each grade level from first through sixth grades were included. During May, 1964, while the children were in Grades K through 5, the "Harvard Test of Inflected Acquisition" was administered as part of a "Harvard-NSF Validity Study." The teachers were told that the new instrument would identify "bloomers," students who would probably experience an unusual forward spurt in academic and intellectual performance during the following year. At the beginning of the 1964-65 academic year, each teacher was given a list of from one to nine children in her class which the test purportedly identified. The test was readministered to all of the children in January 1965, May 1965, and May 1966.

The measure that was actually used was Flanagan's Test of General Ability (TOGA), chosen because it was a group-administered intelligence test which provided both verbal and reasoning subscores as well as total I.Q. Other advanevaluations of the child by the teacher. Further, the evaluations of the teacher affect the child only under conditions that the child accepts the teacher as a source. If this is the case, then the teacher becomes a salient evaluator of the child. As compared to other explanatory schemes, Webster's theoretical ideas indicate that the process by which the teacher decisions affect outcomes is indirect.

Effect of Teachers Decisions on Outcome Measures

Research that has focused on the effect of teacher's decisions on outcome measures has increased in the past few years. Perhaps, the most rapid accumulation of research has occurred as a consequence of a refocusing of the problem. The impetus for much of this research was provided by Robert Rosenthal and his highly controversial study Pygmalion in the Classroom (Rosenthal and Jacobsen, 1968). The difference is not so much in the approach to the problem, but in his explanation. Both the theoretical and methodological problems of research in this area can be highlighted by an in-depth analysis of what has come to be known as the "teacher expectancy problem."

Rosenthal identified the phenomenon of the Experimenter Bias Effect (EBE) as the process by which "self-fulfilling prophecies," as elucidated by Clark and later by Rist, occurred. Rosenthal states:

> The essence of this concept is that one's prediction of another person's behavior somehow comes to be realized. The prediction may, of course, be realized only in the perception of the predictor. It is also possible, however, that the predictor's expectation is communicated to the other person, perhaps, in quite subtle and unintended ways, and so has an influence on his actual behavior (Rosenthal, 1968, p. 3).

The Rosenthal-Jacobsen study forcefully suggested an alternative explanation for ethnic and class differences in educational achievement. To educatages of TOGA were its probable unfamiliarity to the teachers and the fact that it was offered in three forms--for Grades K-2, 2-4--and 4-6--all of similar content and style.

Rosenthal and Jacobsen reported that the children in the experimental group gained twelve I.Q. points while the control group children gained eight points by the end of the year's experiment. They also reported that "we find an increasing expectancy advantage as we go from the sixth to the first grade; ...in the first and second grades the effects of teachers' prophecies were dramatic" (p.74-75). Supplemental analyses of data from the second and fourth TOGA and ratings of classroom behavior, and a substudy of the general achievement test scores were also provided.

The following excerpts from the concluding paragraphs of this study epitomize the seductive aspects of their explanatory scheme;

> Nothing was done directly for the disadvantaged (sic) child at Oak School. There was no crash program to improve his reading ability, no special lesson plan, no extra time for tutoring, no trips to museums or art galleries. There was only the belief that the children bore watching, that they had intellectual competencies that would in due course be revealed. What was done in our program of educational change was done directly for the teacher, only indirectly for her pupils...
>
> As teacher-training institutions begin to teach the possibility that teachers' expectations of their pupils' performance may serve as self-fulfilling prophecies, there may be a new expectancy created. The new expectancy may be that children can learn more than had been believed possible...it (will be) more difficult when (encountering) the educationally disadvantaged for teachers to think, "well, after all, what can you expect?"...The teacher in the classroom may need to learn that...prophecies within her may be fulfilled; she is no casual passer-by. Perhaps Pymalion in the classroom is more her role (p. 182).

The glaring technical defects of the study were pointed out almost as soon as it left the press (Throndike, 1968). Problems with Rosenthal's original EBE formulation are cited by Gebhart and Antonopolos (1969) as well as in exchanges between Rosenthal and Barber and Silver, between Rosenthal and Thorndike, and between Barber and Silver and Levy (see Barber and Silver, 1968a; 1968b; 1969; Levy, 1969; Rosenthal 1968; 1969; Thorndike, 1969). Perhaps the most thorough methodological evaluation was completed by Elashoff and Snow (1970), who undertook a complete reanalysis of the study using the original data design and sampling plan, measurement problems and analysis problems, as well as critical comments of the study as a report of research.

Design of the Study. The details of the design of a study, including the sampling plans, are very important, as they provide the basis for subseqent statistical inference as well as planning for replications. In the absence of a theory, the sampling plan also determines the population to which the results can be generalized, the unit of analysis (e.g. individual or classroom), and the comparability of the experimental and control groups.

In the case of Rosenthal and Jacobsen's work, the sampling plan was ill-defined. It is not at all clear what the procedure for assignment to the experimental or control group was. They state that a random assignment was used and they did not want to select the same number of children to be in the experimental group from each class. This resulted in the number of experimental children in a class varying from one to nine. Nowhere are their decision rules for selecting the number for each class made explicit, nor is the type of random assignment specified (e.g. simple random assignment, or random sampling stratified by sex and classroom). Their sampling plan also provided poor balance. In other words, it did not take into account the variables in the design so as to make possible analytic comparisons between these variables. For example, the study purports to relate the effect of teacher expectancies of Mexican children on achievement, yet the sample does not include a large enough group of Mexican children so that the appropriate comparisons can be made. A twenty per cent subject loss from pre-test to post-test reduces the generalizability of the study. It also raises the possibility of differential subject loss in experimental and control groups.

Measurement. In evaluating the measurement of the concepts in any study, both the validity of the variables as actual measures of the important concepts and the reliability of the measurement are of concern. Elashoff and Snow report both problems in their evaluation of the study.

Difficulties with TOGA arise from the incomplete norming of the test at both ends of the distribution in the K-2 form:

> The total raw score distribution on form K-2 for example has a possible range of 0 to 63 points. Examining the conversion table, one notes that a difference in raw scores of one item on TOGA will result in an I.Q. difference (for children of the same age) of about 2 points near the center of the distribution, up to 8 points at the bottom of the scale, and 60 points at the top (Elashoff and Snow, p. 37).

In other words, an item does not have the same meaning through the distribution. In addition, the pretest reasoning I.Q. mean for all first-grade children was fifty-eight. For the first grade control group, reasoning pre-test means of 80.8 and 47.2 for the slow and medium track respectively were found. Usually a child with so low an I.Q. score would be either in a program for the mentally retarded or institutionalized. Rather than these scores indicating that the children are "morons" or "feeble-minded however, they suggest that the test did not function at this grade level. At the very least, the validity of their concept of "intellectual growth" is brought into question. In fact, the validity problem of their measure of "intellectual growth" using the K-2 form of TOGA brings into questions the main effect of their study. For the principle finding of their study is derived from the reasoning subscores for grades one and two, the validity of which is dubious.

Examination of the score distributions reveals many extreme I.Q. scores of less than 60 or greater than 160. One of the more striking cases, for example, is that of child with successive total I.Q. scores, as measured by TOGA, of 55, 102, 95, 104. In view of the fact that the children were tested three or four times with exactly the same test, greater stability of the measure to be found. According to the TOGA manual, form 2-4 provides greater reliability for average or above children than the K-2 form. Since the main results are found for the children in grades one and two who were tested by form K-2, this discredits the only positive finding on the ground of questionable reliability as well. Therefore, the main results are independently discreditable on both the questions of validity and reliability.

Data Analysis. The type of data analysis that is chosen must justify all that has preceeded it in an experiment. Analytic procedures are chosen which will test the substantive hypotheses and which will fit the appropriate statistical machinery. Data analysis should be both exploratory and confirmatory (Elashoff and Snow, 1970). And, most improtantly, when considerable time and energy have been spent in developing a design and carrying out a study, rigidly sticking to a preplanned or a hasty analysis is a waste of resources and may actually misrepresent the data.

According to Elashoff and Snow, the analysis of the data from the Oak Street School experiment was grossly inadequate. Their choice of unweighted means analyses of variance was inadequate in light of unequal cell sizes and the prevalence of small or empty cells. Their choice of simple gain scores as criterion measurement using level of significance to indicate magnitude of differences was inappropriate. Finally, their conclusions based on the data were grossly misrepresented.

After an extensive and thorough reanalysis of the data, Elashoff and Snow conclude:

> Our closer look at first and second graders using raw scores to test for differences between experimental and control children has produced mixed results. The small sample size and lack of balance make it difficult to find a really appropriate analytic procedure. There are indications that the control and experimental children are insufficiently comparable to make any sound conclusions. Examination of the data suggests that there is no expectancy effect for boys but that there may be one for girls.
>
> In conclusion, then, there is some evidence to suggest the presence of an expectancy effect in first and second graders. However, with so small and poorly balanced a sample, a conclusive analysis of these data is not possible. Definitive conclusions require additional experiments (p. 117).

Reporting of Research. In writing up the results from a study, all the information that is needed to replicate the study should be included. It is also helpful to provide information so that the particular findings can be understood by others.

As a technical report of original research, the study is criticized by Thorndike as well as Elashoff and Snow on the basis of the type of data provided in the study. Because the authors do not provide any of the data based on raw scores, or give the ages of their groups, it is literally impossible to re-evaluate the data without access to the original data:

> The text and tables are inconsistent, conclusions are overdramatized, and variables are given prejudicial labels. The three concluding chapters represent only superficial, and frequently inaccurate, attempts to deal with the study's flaws. Descriptions of design, basic data, and analysis are incomplete. The sampling plan is not spelled out in detail. Frequency distributions are lacking for either raw or IQ scores. Comparisons between text and appendix are hampered by different subgrouping of the data... (Elashoff and Snow, 1970).

Theoretical Problems. One of the main reasons for the difficulty in demonstrating what so many already believed to be true seems to be the lack of any conceptual scheme to explain "expectation effects." To begin with, it is not at all clear what is meant by the term "expectations," i.e., whether it means expectations in a probabilistic, predictive sense, or whether it is used normatively. Does it refer to relatively specific expectations, or are they global? Further, there is the question of how differences in expectations are translated into differences in learning or I.Q. What is the mechanism by which this occurs, or, what are the conditions under which it will occur? Some answers, or assumptions, for these questions are vital to testing for expectancy effects; otherwise the appropriate preconditions for finding the effects cannot be set except in a haphazard way, and verification will continue to be problematic.

Definition of Expectations. In Rosenthal and Jacobsen's review of their own and other research on teacher expectancy (1968), the definition of expectation is never made clear. In the preface, they state that "much of our behavior is governed by widely shared norms or expectations..." Later they continue ," ...often we can more accurately prophesy the behavior of a stranger. To a great extent, our expectations for another person's behavior are accurate because we know his past behavior " (p. viii).

On the first page of the book, an ambiguity has already arisen. Does "expectation" have normative and moral overtones as the first sentence suggests (similar to its use in the phrase "I expect you to be polite"), or is it probabilistic and predictive as in the second sentence (similar to its use in the phrase "I expect he will arrive at nine o'clock").

A second dimension for theoretically defining "expectations" is the degree of generality of the expectation or anticipation. Is the expectation focused within a narrow or delimited range of behavior, or is it really global? For example, a teacher might expect a student to do poorly in one area, but not conclude that he will do poorly in all areas. Alternatively, he may have formed a more general expectation that the student will do poorly no matter what. In general, it seems likely that there is a relationship between whether a person develops an expectation which is predictive or evaluative and the level of generality.

In Pygamalion in the Classroom, "expectation" was defined only operationally. Students who were "late bloomers" would be likely to have an upward "spurt" in achievement. Perceived differences between children in the experimental and control groups by their teachers were found in such emotionally evaluative categories as "hostility" or "affectionateness" or intellectual curiosity." The original cues given by the researchers were global and contained evaluative words. Similarly, the differences in teacher perception were broadly evaluative, e.g., they were not differences in perceived arithmetic skill level.

Theoretical Framework. The greatest deficit in the study is the failure to provide an explanatory framework for how expectations are supposed to affect student outcomes, such as achievement or I.Q. The experimental children are at one point referred to as "the magic children of Galatea." Their "spurts" in I.Q. do in fact appear to be magic, for the authors really have no explanation more sophisticated than "thinking makes it so." Somehow, through vocal inflection, gesture or touch, the teachers are supposed to make their expectations know, and the students' I.Q.'s are then in some way affected.

Verification Attempts

Several studies have failed to replicate the original findings.* These studies attempted to meet some of the criticisms of the original design and fill in some of the gaps in the explanatory scheme.

In a doctoral dissertation study, Claiborn (1969) attempted to qualify and quantify some in-class teacher-pupil behavior in an attempt to capture changes in teacher behavior after the introduction of fictitious information about some of the pupils as well as to replicate the Rosenthal-Jacobsen findings. Since the Rosenthal and Jacobsen findings seemed most significant in the low grades, the sample consisted of twelve first-grade classrooms.

This study "corrected" two of the faults with the earlier study; 1) the twenty percent sample was chosen equally from the upper and lower half of the pretest I.Q. distributions to ensure comparability, and 2) the sampling plan achieved balance by classroom and by sex. Unfortunately, the study also differed in two potentially significant ways: the expectancy was introduced after the school year had begun, and the period between pre-test and post-test was less than two months. The results show no difference in nature or frequency of teacher-pupil interactions; moverover, the original results were not replicated.

Jose and Cody (1971) used first - and second-grade classrooms in a second replication attempt. Their study used a balanced sample of four experimental and four control children in each classroom. They used the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT) as well as TOGA and collected teacher-pupil interactions data. The experiment began in the middle of the year and ran over a period of four months. Unlike Rosenthal and Jacobsen, they validated the treatment effect on the teachers, finding that seven of eighteen teachers did expect the "bloomers" to improve their achievement, while eleven did not. This points to a serious flaw in the Rosenthal-Jacobsen study, where the assumption was made that all teachers were influenced by the treatment to change their expectations. No significant difference in either the achievement or I.Q. test scores was found between the experimental and control groups.

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* See Claiborn, 1969; Jose and Cody, 1971; Fleming and Anttonen, 1971; Pelligrini and Hicks, 1972; Mendels and Flanders, 1973.

Fielder, Cohen and Feeney (1971) also attempted to replicate the Rosenthal and Jacobsen findings. The purpose of their study was to consider the effect of the different independent variables more carefully. To this end, they increased the sample size and more specifically, while using the same basic design, they looked at the effect of grade level, sex, ethnicity, and social class. They also attempted to meet the criticism leveled by Elashoff and Snow regarding the apparent lack of standardization of the test administration. Two of the three schools were receiving ESEA Title 1 funds and had a large number of Mexican-American students. The third school was predominantly middle class and had few minority group children. The sample from this school served as the control for both social class and ethnicity. The study also differed from the Rosenthal-Jacobsen study in two potentially significant ways: 1) the study began midway through the academic year, and 2) the re-test occurred after one semester.

The findings from the analysis of the change in I.Q. between the pre- and post-test suggest there were no significant differences in terms of the "expectancy advantage" of the experimental group, nor were there any discernible positive or negative overall trends by sex, SES, ethnicity or grade. The authors also caution future investigators regarding the difficulty of group administration of TOGA, or a similar I.Q. test, to first-grade children.

> In most first grade classes we had one test administrator reading the test, another person walking around the class-

> room to assist and answer questions, and in several first grade classes a third person assisted...Yet keeping children of this age in their seats, preventing "copying" or 'cheating' was next to impossible for first grade children in all 3 schools during the approximately 45 minute administration of TOGA...We wonder how Rosenthal and Jacobsen solved this "activity" problem for first graders, especially since their pretest took place when the "first graders" were still in kindergarten (emphasis ours).

A study by Fleming and Anttonen examined an ongoing school situation to determine whether self-fulfilling prophecy would operate when conventional educational measures and procedures were used. This study was a refinement over previous work by adding to the variables studied teachers' opinion as to the value they place upon the usefulness of intelligence tests, and socioeconomic class. The study also differed in that the Kuhlman-Anderson Intelligence test and the Primary Mental Abilities Test were used. Expectancy bias was introduced by inflating the I.Q. scores reported to the teachers sixteen points for the experimental group. The findings of this study fail to confirm Rosenthal's hypothesis. They did indicate that teachers who held tests in high regard had classes showing higher I.Q.'s. This was true of students with higher socioeconomic status, but not for students with lowereconomic status. These findings are based on a very small sample size and may be due to the disproportionality of the distribution of teachers' opinion by socioeconomic data. They also found that when teachers were asked to assess the accuracy of the various types of test information, they stated that they believed that the test information was less accurate for the inflated I.Q. group than the traditionally reported group (Fleming and Anttonen, 1971).

A study by Pelligrini and Hicks (1972) studied the effects of performance information in a tutorial situation for disadvantaged children. In addition to the differences in the nature of the instructional situation, the present study differed from Rosenthal and Jocobsen's in three main respects. First, this study explored the effects of three ascribed levels of predicted functioning: high, average, and low. Second, a selective coaching hypothesis was tested by comparing the performance of children whose tutors did and did not have familiarity with the criterion measures. Third, traditional measures of verbal intelligence and reasoning ability were used -- Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and the Similarities subtest from the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children.

Forty-four tutors who worked with elementary age children (thirty-four males, ten females) from a low-income, predominately Mexican-American area as part of Project Share participated in the study. Child-tutor pairs assigned at random to one of the four treatment conditions--high intelligence; high intelligence-test familiarity; average intelligence; and below-average intelligence. After seventeen weeks of tutoring, the post-test occurred. Analysis of the results indicate that significant gain scores resulted on the PPVT for the high intelligence-test familiarity condition. There were no other significant differences among the groups. The authors interpreted the results as supportive of the selective coaching hypothesis, suggesting that picture identification is more discrete and thus more readily teachable than is the kind of reasoning required on the WISC subtest.

Another replication attempt was recently conducted by Mendels and Flanders (1973). This study answers the criticisms of the earlier study by using equivalent control and experimental groups based on pretest data, and a more suitable test of intelligence, the Cognitive Abilities Test (CAT). The investigators specifically selected the CAT because the test content covers a wider range of intellectural abilities and seemed more relevant to first graders. Criterion measures were CAT gain scores, CAT raw gain scores, reading grade, arithmetic grade, social skills game, and reading level. The children in the study attended ten different schools in a large suburban school system. Of the 120 students, 73 were boys and 47 were girls. The study began at the beginning of the school year, lasting for a total of seven months. One quarter of the students in each class were assigned to the control condition, while another quarter were assigned to the experimental condition. The teachers were advised that the pre-test identified "hidden academic potential" in children from low socioeconomic backgrounds. The results of the study indicated that the experimental group did make slightly greater gains (I.Q. and raw score) than the control. Further, a trend of teacher grades and reading level favored the experimental group. None of the differences were statistically significant.

Four of the teachers reported that the "spurters" had made greater gains in their academic progress than the remaining pupils. Experimental children in these classes did make greater I.Q. gains scores on the CAT and made significantly greater raw gain scores on the CAT. This finding suggests that one of the conditions under which the Rosenthal-Jacobsen effect works is if teachers believe that the children can learn.

The final study to be reviewed is the most recent replication attempt as well as possibly the most enlightening (Dusek, 1973). The purpose of the investigation was to determine the effects of teacher-bias as compared to teacher-expectancy on elementary children's achievement test performance. Teacher-bias was defined as an expectancy for performance as induced by the principal investigator. Analagously, teacher expectancy was operationally defined as the teacher's own self-generated (stated) expectations regarding children's performance. In other words, the EBE as the process by which self-fulfilling prophecies occur was compared to teacher generated expectations similar to those used in the interaction studies reviewed earlier in this chapter.

The sample consisted of children from a school in a predominently "lower class" area in the second and fourth grades. There were sixteen children in each of two classrooms on each grade level. The investigation took place during the course of a year and a half. It should be noted that the experimental manipulation occurred when these children were in the second and fourth grades, but data were also collected during their third and fifth grade experiences, respectively.

During the first week of the 1971-1972 academic year, several subtests of the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) were administered by the principal investigator. The SAT's were disguised as tests to measure potential gains in language and arithmetic skills. The same tests were readministered twice more during the same academic year, and twice more during the following academic year.

During the initial testing session, each teacher was asked to rank the children in her classroom from high to low on her expectations regarding their year-end performance levels in language and arithmetic skills. The children in each classroom were randomly and equally divided into the control and experimental conditions. The teachers were given a list of names of the children (those in the experimental group) and were told that these children should show large gains in language and arithmetic skills during the academic year.

Data were analyzed using multiple regression analysis. The bias manipulation (experimental condition) was not significantly related to SAT performance on any of the five testing occasions. On the other hand, teacher ranking was strongly and consistently related to SAT performance on each testing occasion. In general, the higher the teacher's ranking, the higher the child's SAT performance.

Dusek concluded that this teacher expectancy effect is not a teacher-bias effect in the Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968) sense. If this teacher expectancy effect were due to teachers somehow biasing the test performance of the children, the magnitude of first correlation would not be as low. Secondly, teacher ranking would not be related to SAT performance twelve to eighteen months after the initial ranking was made, the children now being advanced one grade level as well as being with a new teacher. Finally, the teachers reported that their rankings were based on criteria directly relevant to academic abilities, e.g., previous grades, readiness tests, and current classroom performance. What this study suggests is that teachers do use performance information a great deal. By the second grade, readiness tests and initial classroom evaluations of the children, as well as grades, become fulfilling prophecies for future classroom achievement. In light of the data from the study by Brophy and Good, also using self-generated expectations of the teacher, one can logically conclude that there is a relationship between performance status information, teacher-student classroom interaction, and subequent outcomes.

A number of conclusions can be derived from these studies. First, it is apparently more difficult to fool teachers, or to actually change their expectations than Rosenthal and Jacobsen suggest. In the studies conducted in the natural setting, teachers have not consistently remembered which students were designated as "bloomers," nor have they consistently changed their perceptions of the students. Secondly, even if teachers' expectations are changed, there is not necessarily a concomitant change in the teachers' behavior. Although there is no strong evidence to document this conclusion, it appears that teachers may respond more strongly to actual student behavior than to supposedly implanted expectations. Finally, an obvious conclusion from the summarized studies is that work is necessary on the finding of intervening variables.

CHAPTER IX

Behavior as a Source of Information

Dorothy Clement

Chapters VII and VIII review research on status characteristics (socio-economic, sex and ethnicity) and prior performance information as variables affecting teacher decisions, and thereby, student outcomes, respectively. Fleming and Anttonen (1970), in commenting upon the failure of their replication of the Rosenthal study, conclude that teachers are more affected by the day-to-day academic performance and behavior of children than they are by results from a single intelligence test. Similarly, Cohen (1972:446) suggests that while status distinctions may be important initially, subsequent performance differentials arising from variation in treatment have a more powerful effect upon the teacher. A third source of information--behavioral information--will be considered in this chapter.

The following review of the literature is oriented by three questions:

1) Which aspects of student behavior (if any) do teachers cue upon in making evaluative decisions about their students?
2) How are these decisions communicated to the student?
3) What is the relationship between these decisions and student outcomes?

Dimensions of Student Behavior

Trait Ratings. In the 1950's, teacher ratings of student traits were envisioned to be a potential evaluative and/or diagnostic tool. Some of the momentum behind the effort was lost, however, when it became apparent that the various scales did not measure discrete traits. Ryan (1958), for example, in a study to determine the reliability and validity of teacher ratings of student traits, concluded that, as found in prior studies, there is a lack of specificity in trait ratings. Ratings on the various traits tended to be inter-correlated. This tendency for ratings to be inter-correlated is often referred to as the "halo effect." The implication of the term "halo effect" is that some small number of traits provides a basis for a unified impression which over-shadows other traits (see Long and Henderson, 1971).

Subsequent studies using more complex techniques of analysis, namely, factor analysis and multidimensional scaling, have advanced beyond the concept of "halo effect" to the study of the organization of teacher perceptions. At this point, there appears to be some relatively small set of dimensions along which individuals are assessed. Many of the various trait names, once thought to refer to discrete phenomena, have been found, in fact, to share some similar referents (D'Andrade, 1965), or at least have referents which are inferentially related (Brown, 1965).

The research on factors or dimensions that underlie teacher perceptions of students is by no means extensive or conclusive. Hallworth, (1961,1964, 1965) found that teacher ratings for adolescents clustered along two main factors for both sexes and for schools in diverse settings:

1) "emotional stability" (conscientious and reliable, overall evaluation as a student), and
2) "social extraversion" (cheerfulness, spontaneity, self-assertiveness)

For primary school children in Scotland, McIntyre _et al_ (1966) found three factors:

1) "good child"
2) "school attainment"
3) "social leadership"

Long and Henderson (1971) obtained teacher ratings for Black and white first graders in thirteen schools in two southern (actually mid-Atlantic) rural school districts. Most of the students were rated by a teacher of the same ethnic group. The two sets of ratings were separately analyzed. Though some factors were the same, there were some differences. The factors and the percentage of variance accounted for (Long and Henderson, 1971:364-366) are given below:

TABLE IV: Percentage of variance Accounted for by Factors Determined from Behavior Ratings of Black vs Euro-American Students

Factor	Black Students	White Students
"good worker"	15%	26%
"friendly"	7	10
"leadership"	--	11
"docility"	5	--
"conformity"	5	4
"curiosity"	5	--
"crying"	5	5
"wandering"	5	5
"quarreling/temper"	5	5

In comparing their findings to Hallworth's, the authors suggest that the "good worker" and "friendliness" factors seem similar to Hallworth's evaluative and social extraversion factors, respectively. They also note the subset of "disruptive discontinuities in behavior: "crying," "wandering," and "quarreling/temper."

Consistent with the relatively meager development of this area of research (organization of teacher perceptions of students), little effort has yet been addressed to the related problem of identifying the distinctive features of behavior which teachers cue upon in making judgments about how good a worker a child is, how friendly he is and so forth. Research on teacher reaction to children's verbal behavior is somewhat more developed.

Verbal Behavior. Kenneth Johnson (1971) outlines some of the beliefs about Black dialect or Ebonics as follows: Black "dialect" impairs the cognitive development of Black children; children must discard Ebonics in order to learn a dialect of Euro-American English, Black children are nonverbal and restricted in their linguistic development; and Black dialect is actually faulty, sloppy or lazy attempts to produce Euro-American English or perhaps the result of "poor auditory discrimination skills."

These beliefs which Johnson attributes to teachers also have their counterparts in social science journals. Bernstein (1970), for example, has described two broad categories of styles of language use - an "elaborated" versus a "restricted" code. The majority of working-class individuals, he postulates, speak primarily a "restricted" code, while most middle-class individuals use an "elaborated" code. These codes result in different abilities and skills.

> Children limited to a restricted code learn a code where the extraverbal (voice, gesture, facial expression, etc.) tends to become a major channel for the qualification and elaboration of individual experience. This does not mean that such children's speech output is relatively reduced. The verbal planning of the speech, relative to an elaborated code, involves a relatively low order and a rigidity of syntactic organization. The interpersonal and intrapersonal, although clearly perceived and felt, are less verbally differentiated. The concept of self which is developed through a restricted code does not itself become an area of inquiry as in the case of the elaborated code, particularly one where the orientation is toward persons. In the case of the elaborated code, such a code points to the possibilies which inhere in a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organization and expression of inner experience. This is much less the case where experience is regulated by a restricted code, for this code orients its speakers to a less complex conceptual hierarchy and so to a low order of causality. What is made available for learning through elaborated and restricted codes is radically different. Social and intellectual orientations, motivational imperatives and forms of social control, rebellion, and innovation are different. Thus the relative backwardness of many working-class children who live in areas o of high population density or in rural areas, may well be a culturally induced backwardness transmitted by the linguistic process (Bernstein, 1970:36-37).

There is little room for doubt that dialect and/or linguistic style are used as bases for performance expectations of children by educators.

In the past decade or so, a great deal of effort has been directed to the study of attitudes toward language. Research has revealed that listener impressions are associated with speech style. Labov's New York study (1966), found correlations between social class and pronunciation of certain phonemes. The study indicated that listeners are able to judge a speaker's social class from his production of selected phonemes. Shuy _et al_ (1969), had judges rate speech samples on a set of bi-polar adjectival scales. He found that judges were able to correctly guess the "race," educational background, and social status of the speaker at a rate significantly above chance. Another study, conducted by Lambert _et al_ (1960), elicited social stereotypes of Canadian French and English speakers. Bilingual speakers were recorded reading the same passage in both languages. The taped segments were rated by Canadian French and English college students on fourteen traits such as physical "attractiveness" and intelligence. Both groups of judges rated the English guises more favorably than the French, on a majority of the traits (Bins, 1973).

Other more recent studies have dealt specifically with teachers' attitudes toward children's speech. The findings indicate that teachers evaluate students differently depending on the dialect they speak. Frender and Lambert (1973) found various aspects of speech styles (pronunciation, intonation, pitch, fluency) to correlate differentially with school grades and achievement test scores. Observational studies have also concluded that dialect is used by teachers to differentiate children in relation to expected performance (Rist, 1968, 1972a, 1972b, Gouldner, 1971).

A portion of the research on language attitudes has been devoted to identifying the factors or dimensions along which perceptions of speech are organized. Many of these studies have used adaptations of Osgood's Semantic Differential Scale (Osgood, 1964, which requires subjects to rate each item on a scale formed by contrasting adjectives:

child is active - - - - - - - - - - - passive

child's home life
is probably like - - - - - - - - - - unlike yours

A strong attitude is indicated by a mark to the extreme left or right, whereas one in the center indicates neutrality. Frederick Williams and his associates, especially, have heavily utilized scales built upon this model. In one of his studies, Williams (1970) used taped speech samples of interviews with forty fifth- and sixth-grade children in the Detroit area. The topics of the interviews were games and TV programs. The speaker sample consisted of two subsamples of twenty children each, one classified as higher socio-economic status and one as lower socio-economic status. Within these two subsamples, half of the children were Black and half Euro-American, and within each of these, balanced subsamples (N=5) of males and females. The thirty-three primary-school teacher sample (twelve Black and twenty-one Euro-American) was obtained for convenience.

Each teacher listened to sixteen tapes. The assignment of subsets of the speech samples to listeners was based on a latin-square type of design. The teachers were asked to rate each sample on twenty-two scales (e.g., The Overall Message Is: disorganized - - - - - organized) where the stem varied. These scales were built from interviews with eight (five Euro-American and three Black) experienced urban teachers (not included in the final test group), and responses to a questionnaire sent to the test group prior to the data gathering

The two sets of ratings (those of Black versus Euro-American teachers) on the speech samples were factor analyzed separately. Both analyses yielded substantially similar results. Two major factors (which together accounted for slightly over 50% of the total variance in each analysis) were:

I "confidence - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - eagerness"

II "ethnicity - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - nonstandardness"

Because Williams and his associates have done extensive research utilizing this two-factor model, a list of scales Williams found (1970) to load on the two factors is included below:

TABLE V: Scales Having High Loadings on the Williams' two-Factor Model of Teacher Perception of Verbal Behavior

FACTOR I - "confidence - eagerness"

CHILD SEEMS:	tensed - relaxed
CHILD SEEMS:	hesitant - enthusiastic
CHILD SEEMS:	shy - talkative
CHILD SEEMS TO BE:	interested - uninterested IN HIS ENVIRONMENT
CHILD SEEMS TO BE:	observant - not observant
CHILD SEEMS TO:	enjoy - dislike TALKING
CHILD IS:	happy - sad
THE CHILD SEEMS:	reticent to speak - eager to speak
CHILD IS:	active - passive
THE CHILD SEEMS:	confident - unsure
CHILD IS:	dull - alert

FACTOR II - "ethnicity - nonstandardness"

PRONUNCIATION IS:	nonstandard - standard
THE CHILD'S FAMILY IS PROBABLY:	low social status - high social status
THE CHILD'S SPEECH INDICATES:	a poor educational background - a good one
LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THIS CHILD'S HOME IS PROBABLY:	standard American style - marked ethnic style
THE CHILD SEEMS CULTURALLY:	disadvantaged - advantaged
THE LANGUAGE SHOWS A:	standard American style - marked ethnic style

In a later study, Williams et al (1971) investigated teacher performance expectations concerning particular content areas based on inferences from speech samples. The speaker sample consisted of forty-one fifths and sixth-grade boys (constituted by a more-or-less equal number of Black, Euro-American, and Mexican-American children, and within these subsamples, equal representation of middle and lower-income levels). The listener sample was composed of 193 Euro-American, 77 Black, and 18 Mexican-American in-service teachers. Two-minute segments of six different videotapes, randomly selected, representing Euro-American, Black and Mexican-American children from the two status levels were shown to groups of teachers. The viewing sessions were held four times, with rotation of the video-taped samples for different teacher groups. The speakers were evaluated using:

1) a semantic differential scale with fifteen items, ten of which were applicable to the two-factor model (confidence - eagerness, and ethnicity - non - standardness).
2) scales for estimation of quality of pupil performance on class assignments in nine academic subjects:

Language-Arts Subjects	-grammar, spelling, composition, reading
Subjects Related to Language-Arts	-social studies, mathematics
Relatively Unrelated Subjects	-art, music, physical education

Factor analysis yielded a two-factor model (confidence - eagerness and ethnicity - non - standardness as found in Williams' previous research) and indications as to the degree and type of relation between data on graded class assignments. Teachers' academic expectations were found to be related to speech as follows:

1. Language-Arts assignments were the best predicted; ethnicity - non-standardness contributed more than ratings on confidence - eagerness.
2. Predictions of Math and Social Science ratings were next; ratings on the two factors contributed equally.
3. Music, Art, Physical Education were less predictable; ratings on the confidence - eagerness factor contributed more.

Some of the findings from the work of Williams and his associates can be summarized as follows:

1. The dimensions of "confidence - eagerness" and "ethnicity - non-standardness" are major dimensions underlying judgments.
2. Status differentiations and ratings of stereotypes on the confidence-eagerness scale appear independent of teacher experience and ethnicity.
3. For Black teachers, ethnicity appears to be less of a central correlate than for Euro-American teachers - variance occurs unsystematically with experience levels. However, both Black and Euro-American teachers rate children the least ethnic-non-"standard."
4. There is a parellel between response to videotaped samples and responses to group labels (names applied to groups). Williams notes that "persons tend to employ stereotyped sets of attitudes as anchor points for their evaluation of whatever is presented to them as a sample of a person's speech" (Williams, 1973a).
5. Speech ratings can be associated with academic expectations in subject areas.*

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* Description of some of the Williams studies draws heavily upon Bins, 1973.

Apart from different attitudes toward speakers who use different speech styles, there is some indication that similar content (e.g., a report, an interview response) may be evaluated differently depending on either speech styles or visual cues.

Woodworth and Salzer (1973) developed a set of tapes of children reading reports. Their subjects (119 elementary teachers) were asked to rate the set of reports (on content, not delivery) over two sessions, separated by a three-week interval. Two of the taped reports were identical except that they were read by two different children. Each teacher subgroup heard one of these tapes (order rotated for sub-groups) at the first session, and the other at the second. The reports were rated significantly lower when read by the Black child on seven out of ten measures.*

Williams, Whitehead, and Miller (1971) actually dubbed in the speech of one child for another to determine the effect of visual cues upon teacher reactions to speech samples. A sample of forty-four undergraduate education majors viewed three ninety-second segments of videotape showing fifth and sixth-grade Black, Mexican-American, and Euro-American boys. After each tape, they were asked to judge the child's speech according to two factors (found by previous research -- Williams, 1970; Williams, Whitehead and Traupmann, 1970 -- to be major dimensions along which teachers evaluate children's speech). The factors were "confidence - eagerness" and "ethnicity nonstandardness." Each subject was shown a tape of a Black and a Mexican-American child speaking

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* The report rated lower was read by a Black child while the one rated higher was read by a Euro-American child. The authors imply that the teachers' evaluations of the report reflect teacher attitudes toward Black versus Euro-American children's speech, even though the Black child read the report as it was written (in Euro-American English). Though this may be the case, the limitations upon the speaker sample would seem to preclude drawing any conclusions as to the factors resulting in the lower evaluation.

Euro-American English. Even though the speech was Euro-American, Black and Mexican-American children shown with audio-dubs of Euro-American English were judged to be significantly more ethnic - "non-standard" than the Euro-American children speaking Euro-American English.*

Seligman et al (1972), using taped speech samples from thirty-six third-grade boys from low - and middle-income families in Montreal, as well as their photographs, original compositions, and artistic drawings, discovered that speech had the more powerful effect in determining teachers' evaluations. The authors concluded that voice and physical appearance were thought to be more revealing of intelligence than drawings and compositions (Bins, 1973).

In addition to work, in ascertaining the major factors in teacher perception of children's speech, there has also been some effort devoted to identifying speech features which correlate with ratings on these factors. In the 1970 study, Williams assessed the speech samples according to eighty-two quantifiable measures of linguistic variation (e.g., ratio of silent pauses to the number of words in the sample, and rate of pronominal apposition). These were correlated with the teacher judgments and those having strong correlations were identified as possible features which figure in the judgmental process (features tures are given in Williams, 1970: 480-482).

Institutional Adjustment. Another area of behavior which appears to be important in the formation of teacher judgments is institutional adjustment (adherence to school rules and values) and the related area of disruptive behavior.

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* Confusion concerning the factor "ethnic - non-standard" may be alleviated by reviewing the ratings loaded on the factor presented above (P. 233). Williams' choice of label for this factor may have been unfortunate, as it appears to generate confusion.

On the basis of a series of observational studies in the homes and schools of low-income, urban Black children, researchers in the project reported upon by Gouldner (1971) felt that adaptation to school rules is a very important factor in teacher decisions about students:

> The teachers' selections (for ability groupings) were not made on the basis of formal testing. We believe that the teachers based their decisions on a number of behavioral traits which they assumed to be predictive of "success." While we are not able to precisely identify all of these traits they appear to fall into three categories: (1) those indicating that the child, according to the teacher, is "teachable" or can learn, such as verbal skills and following directions; (2) those indicating that the child can adapt to bureaucratic school norms, such as being quiet, disciplined, neat, and orderly; and (3) those indicating that the child might achieve middle class goals, particularly those related to upward mobility, such as being from economically "better" homes, being submissive and polite and being able to defer gratifications (Gouldner, 1971:6).

The descriptions used in Feshbach's (1969) study (described in more detail below) included student traits which could be related to institutional adjustment. She concludes that:

> The results provide striking support for the hypothesis that student teachers prefer pupils whose behavior reflects rigidity, conformity, and orderliness or dependency, passivity, and acquiescence more than pupils whose behavior is indicative of flexibility, nonconformity, and untidiness or independence, activity, and assertiveness (Feshbach, 1969:82).

Concerning "disruptive" and "problem" behavior, a classic study by Wickman (1929) some forty-five years ago found that mental hygienists were more concerned about "withdrawing" and other nonsocial forms of behavior in children of elementary school age, while teachers of the children were more concerned with overt and aggressive behavior, inattention to school tasks, and behavior which violated their standards of morality (primarily sexual behavior). A number of replications of Wickman's study over the years have found a change in teacher attitudes toward increased emphasis upon "withdrawing" and other related behavior (Beilin, 1969). Also, the findings have been refined concerning grade level. Beilin (1959) found, in general, an age trend:

> ... with a concern (in elementary grades) for social-interpersonal aspects of adjustment (e.g., withdrawal, aggressiveness, emotional instability) to later concern (in high school) with character traits (e.g., reliability, dependability) and finally (young adulthood) with achievement and integration into the community (Beilin, 1959:16).

Aside from the question of the importance of institutional adjustment and amount of disruptive behavior as a dimension of student behavior salient to teachers, there is also the related question of teacher identification of incidents of disruptive behavior.

A study by Robert Stebbins (1970) has relevance to this question. Using a combination of observation of incidents of disorderly behavior in the classroom and follow-up interviews with thirty-six teachers in the Protestant school system of St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, Stebbins obtained information on teacher definitions of disorderly conduct (note: teacher sample was nonrandom, controlled for experience over two years). He found that for the teachers included in the study, reaction to disruption was based on a consideration of the behavior, as well as "some identification of the students involved in terms of the level of their past academic performance and their deportment" (Stebbins, 1970:223). Both the teacher's evaluation of and reaction to various behaviors depend, in part, on the classroom activity; the teacher's success expectations of the child as an academic performer, and the teacher's behavioral expectations of the child as to deportment. Thus, the same type of behavior may be differently evaluated and elicit a different response. Concerning evaluation, for example:

> The above average student is never seen as misbehaving because he does not understand the material or because

> he lacks motivation. Rather his disorderliness, usually talking, typically is linked to the observation that he is finished with the assignment, seeking attention, or simply talkative or active (Stebbins 1970:229).

And with regard to response to disruptive behavior:

> Average students are more likely than either those below average or those above average to be confronted for misconduct on an order-for-order's sake basis. Presumably, teachers feel they can enforce interdictions of this nature with these students. The fact that below average pupils, who definitely misbehave in this particular fashion, escape order-for-order's sake confrontations, can be explained by the avoidance-of-provocation hypothesis. The above average, on the other hand, are either immune to challenge for this sort of activity or engage in it less. Teachers are most apt to explain misbehavior by the below average as resulting from low motivation to do schoolwork, an aspect of the personal knowledge that the teacher has of his students. As noted earlier, he is more likely to use personal knowledge to explain misconduct of these pupils than that of average pupils,(Stebbins 1970:220-230).

Though not pursued systematically, researchers involved in the project reported upon by Gouldner (1971:63) noted that "those children defined by the teacher as disruptive did not appear to engage in (disruptive) behavior significantly different from those not defined as disruptive" (emphasis the author's). In other words, the same acts were interpreted differently, depending on whether or not the child was viewed by the teacher as a disruptive child.

Also attested to in some research findings is the occurrence of the transmission of "information" about particular children (and types of children) from one teacher to another, perhaps via teacher comments in children's cumulative record files (see Gouldner 1971:32, for example). Thus, teacher behavioral expectations may be passed along with the result that once a student becomes identified as a behavioral problem, his behavior may continue to be interpreted from that framework throughout his subsequent school career.

From some findings, it appears that certain groups (sorted by status characteristics such as sex, socio-economic status, and ethnicity) are disproportionately represented among students identified as being disruptive or poorly adjusted (see discussion of EMR classes in Chapter II). At the time when Beilin (1959) reviewed the literature on teacher attitudes toward disruptive behavior, research showed more boys identified as maladjusted than girls, and some application of different criteria of maladjustment (and adjustment) for each sex. At that time, little work had been done on the relationship between socioeconomic/ethnic factors and the evaluation of children's behavior problems. Assessments of such relationships are found as peripheral issues in later studies. For the twenty-four behaviors that students were rated upon in the Long and Henderson (1971) study, for example, Euro-American students on the average were related significantly higher than Black students on the following four items:

1) follows directions
2) completes tasks
3) few quarrels
4) accepts teacher's authority

Though there has been some research in the area of disruptive behavior as a source of information for teacher decisions, as yet there appears to have been little systematic investigation of the sequence of events or factors involved in the initial perception of a child as disruptive, though some reports seem to indicate that there may be generally held behavior expectations for relatively more disruptive behavior from children from certain backgrounds (See Gouldner, 1971; Rosenfeld, 1971).

The difficulties which have inhibited the development of research in the field of teacher reactions to disruptive or negatively viewed behavior comes perhaps from the lack of a theory to explain the link between teacher ratings and student outcomes. Instead there is vacilliation between using teacher ratings as a measure of student traits versus teacher perceptions as an independent variable affecting student outcomes. Thus, bases for teacher evaluation and treatment of behaviors have not been systematically explored, and therefore are difficult to assess as to their validity.

Particularly relevant to the subject of this paper are the possible misinterpretations of student behavior that arise from incidents of culture conflict or culture "gap" behavior where the teacher's framework for decoding behavior is not inclusive of the cultural meanings attached to situations and conduct that the child has learned in his home and community. For example, a first-grader who moves around and does not sit quietly at his desk may be viewed by the teacher as immature when, in fact, he is simply accustomed to a different use of space. Rosenfeld (1971), for example, on the basis of participant observation (as a teacher) in an elementary school in Harlem (N.Y.C.) suggests that children from homes in which space is used differently than it is in school may have trouble adjusting to school rules for space use:

> Children's constant movement in the classroom suggested to me that this was the result of living at close quarters at home, mingling with many others in a small apartment. This contrasted somewhat with the usual expectations of middle-class children in the suburbs, who may have their own rooms and be used to isolation in individual seats in class. It is commensurate with such children's home experience. Some rooms are reserved for visiting company, others for formal dining, and still others for playing and rough-housing. This was not often the case for the poor child at Harlem School (Rosenfeld, 1971:30).

Problems similarly arising from culture conflict in teacher-student interactions have been noted in the literature though they have not been systematically explored. Fuchs' (1969) research based on teacher reports of daily classroom events, provides an account of an interaction involving a teacher and a Puerto Rican child. The teacher's negative interpretation of the child's behavior (as disrespectful) and her subsequent treatment were made, according to Fuchs, without an understanding on the middle-class Euro-American teacher's part, of ideas of appropriate behavior toward adults to which the child had been socialized.

A somewhat more systematic study of conflict was conducted by Ramirez and Taylor (1967), who focused upon identifying areas of conflict common to Mexican-American students but not to Euro-American students of similar socioeconomic backgrounds. Six-hundred students were selected from one junior high and one senior high school in the Sacramento City Unified School District, Sacramento, California. The student sample consisted of an equal number of Mexican- and Euro-Americans, and within those sub-groups, males and females, with socioeconomic status (as determined by residence patterns) held constant (low). From the initial sample, 300 students were chosen based upon the discrepancy between their score upon the "Attitudes Toward Education and Teachers Scale" and that of students who show high success in schools. Three sets of students (120 in all, divided by ethnic group, sex, and grade) were chosen - one for which the students' scores were most discrepant; one for which the scores were of median discrepancy; and one for which the scores were of least discrepancy. Among the other data collected was information from the students' cumulative files and student responses to a school situation picture test developed by the authors in which the student views a depiction of one or more individuals (varied for subject by ethnicity and sex) and describes what is occurring and what led up to the event. Analysis of the cumulative files revealed distinct differences between the problem behaviors reported for Mexican Americans versus Euro-Americans. Stories told by the Mexican-American students also reflected conflicts between the students' cultural values and the demands of the school. For example, from the cumulative files there was a disproportionate difficulty of Mexican-American students with "suiting-up" for gym class. A student response to the school situation picture test included by the authors refers to this problem:

> The teacher is mad at the girl because she won't strip down for gym. The girl is unhappy because she cannot explain to the teacher that she feels embarrassed to take her clothes off in front of the others. The teacher becomes angry because the girl doesn't answer and she just looks down. She sends her to the principal (Ramirez and Taylor 1967:33).

Apparently, teachers' lack of understanding of Mexican-American girls' home training (modesty in not displaying their bodies in public) may cause discomfort on the student's part as well as a negative evaluation by the teacher. The authors also found that those students who were low on adjustment (as indicated by information in the cumulative files) are those most closely identified with Mexican-American values.

More pertinent to the target population of this paper is a pilot study reported upon by Johnson et al (1972). Though the findings can be considered suggestive only, due to the small sample size (N=8), observation of target behaviors disciplined in the home versus those disciplined in the school for low-income, urban Black second-graders, indicated little overlap. And, in fact, one of the behaviors eliciting disciplinary measures at school--phsical fighting - was considered to be necessary under certain circumstances by parents (For further discussion and information about teacher attitudes toward disorderly behavior, see Eddy, 1965; Waller, 1932; Jackson, 1968; Fuchs, 1969; King, 1967; and Rosenfeld, 1971).

Neither the relationship between disruptive behavior and student outcomes, nor the relationship between teacher expectations (both behavior and performance) and disruptive behavior has received a great deal of systematic attention as yet. Though the research in the area is relatively scanty, it does appear that 1) institutional adjustment is an important factor in teacher decisions about students and 2) that children may acquire a reputation concerning their adjustment or lack of it which influences interpretation of and reaction to their subsequent behavior. How classification as "disruptive" relates to student outcomes, including achievement and self-concept, as well as assignment to special classes, particular tracks, or status as EMR (educationally mentally retarded), emotionally disturbed, or even mentally ill (see Valentine, 1971) needs more careful study.

Additionally, for the area of non-Euro-American education, the relatively recent focus upon the concept of "culture conflict" coupled with data from ethnographic studies of schools, has provided sufficient justification for the undertaking of systematic research on the relationship between cultural differences and "problem" behavior.

Achievement Behavior. As with "disruptive" behavior, it is also apparent that once a child has been identified by the teacher as to achievement, subsequent evaluation and reaction to his behavior varies according to that categorization. Entwisle and Webster (1973a:214), for example, contend that the more highly evaluated a student is, the more likely he is to be reinforced for anything he does than is the less highly evaluated student (See Rist, 1968, 1970, 1972a, 1972b; Bouldner, 1971; Stebbins, 1970; Hoehn, 1959).

Perhaps the most obvious manifestation of treatment of students judged according to achievement is the practice of ability grouping. (See Chapter VIII on prior performance information for a more in-depth discussion of ability grouping). Rist (1970) poignantly describes the implications of ability grouping when it is combined with a lock-step curriculum:

> The caste character of the reading groups became clear as the year progressed in that all three groups were reading in different books and it was school policy that no child could go on to a new book until the previous one had been completed. Thus there was no way for the child, should he have demonstrated competence at a higher reading level, to advance since he had to continue at the pace of the rest of his reading group. The teacher never allowed individual reading in order that a child might finish a book on his own and move ahead. No matter how well a child in the lower reading groups might have read, he was destined to remain in the same reading group (Rist 1970:435).

Evidence from the project in which Rist was involved (Gouldner 1971) indicates that placement in an ability group occurs very early in a child's school career (the eighth day of kindergarten for the children in the classroom that Rist observed), and stays with the child as he moves through the grades.

Though some information is available concerning bases for the classification of students as to achievement, it is not conclusive (see Rist, 1968, 1970, 1972a, 1972b; Gouldner, 1971; and Chapter VIII). Rists's observations and those of his associates, though for only a small number of classrooms (eleven "ghetto" classrooms), indicate that evaluations are based on cues to family socioeconomic status and behavioral traits not necessarily related to academic potential.

Consistent with Rist's observations are studies of differences in teacher attitudes between schools or classes varying in student body composition (Wiles, 1970; Boger, 1967; Gottleib, 1964).

Wiles (1970) reports on a study of some 1150 teachers in a large urban school system. The demographic and attitudinal data collected from the teachers was analyzed by type of school (urban: 75% or more non-Euro-American, 20% or more families under $3000; transitional: 5-75% non Euro-American, 2-20% families under $3000; or peripheral: under 5% non-Euro-American, under 2% families under $3000) in which the teacher was employed. Though teachers did differ significantly in sex and ethnicity (more Euro-American, female teachers were found in the peripheral schools), there was no significant difference in the experience of teachers. With respect to attitudes or beliefs about their students, there were a number of significant differences. Teachers were asked to rate their students (as a group, it is assumed) on a scale ranging from below to above average on the following: aspirations, motivation, self-image, intelligibility of speech, and overall. The urban teachers exhibited a greater tendency to rate their students as below average than did teachers in peripheral areas. Transitional teachers' ratings were either very similar to those of the urban teachers or lying somewhere in between. Wiles reviews the results pertaining to teachers' feelings toward their students as follows:

> The generalized judgment on the type of students taught revealed the same tendency as specific questions.
>
> Sixty-five percent of inner-city teachers had negative feelings about the type of student they taught. Only two inner-city teachers in every hundred felt their students were above average or excellent pupils. The transitional teachers were barely more positive in their judgment.
>
> Less than twenty percent of the teachers in peripheral schools felt their students were poor or below average. Over a fourth of these teachers felt the students being taught were above average or excellent (Wiles,1970:146).

The significance of teacher perceptions of student behavior, according to the intellectual framework presented in Chapter VI, lies with the teacher expectations for student performance success which are correlated with these perceptions. In addition to correlations with status characteristics and prior performance, achievement estimates have also been found to correlate with personality or behavioral styles.

In a study reported by Feshbach (1969), two groups of graduate students enrolled in elementary-school student teaching at a west coast university, and were given descriptions of students (varied by sex) which were designed to convey four trait clusters (flexible, nonconforming, untidy; rigid, conforming, orderly; active, independent, assertive; passive, dependent, acquiescent). They were asked to rate these hypothetical students on five six-point scales (ranging from "considerably below average" to "considerably above average"). One of the scales was estimated grades, and another, estimated intelligence. Though predictions were made as to particular responses to the four personality clusters, what is of particular interest here is that the teacher estimates of grades and intelligence varied for the eight types. A table including mean judgments as a function of personality cluster and sex of child is given below:

TABLE VI: Average Estimates of Intelligence and Grades for Four Student Personality Types

Cluster Situation	Independent, Active, Assertive	Dependent, Passive, Submissive	Flexible, Nonconforming, Untidy	Rigid Conforming, Orderly
Intelligence				
Boys	4.47	3.92	4.62	4.45
Girls	4.14	3.94	4.01	4.70
Grades				
Boys	4.05	3.85	3.74	4.65
Girls	3.76	3.95	3.41	5.03

Note - The mean difference required for the .01 level of significance is .23 for I.Q., and .22 for grades; for the .05 level of significance a mean difference of .19 for I.Q., and .19 for grades (Feshbach, 1969:79).

In the Hallworth research referred to above, teachers' ratings of academic achievement of adolescents was related to the factor of "emotional stability" (conscientiousness and reliability). In the Feshbach study, anticipated grades "appear to be a result of the judgments of social characteristics and the judgments of intelligence" (Feshbach, 1969:79).

Another study by Gordon and Thomas (1967) used single item descriptors of position on quality of entry into classroom activities ("plunger," "goalongness," "sideliners," and "non-participants") and estimates of intelligence. Teachers were asked to rate each of their students on quality of entry and estimated intelligence. There was a positive correlation (which was significant) between these ratings.

Though achievement behavior appears to be a relatively important dimension of behavior affecting teacher decisions, it must again be reported that very little research has been addressed to determining the features of student behavior which teachers use as cues in assessing student ability or potential behavior which teachers use as cues in assessing student ability or potential for achievement. There is, however, some indication from the work of Williams and his associates (described in the section on verbal behavior) and from that of Rist, that linguistic style or dialect may be an important factor in teacher decisions. Similarly the studies of Feshbach; Hallworth; and Rist and his associates, indicate that institutional adjustment may also be a factor. Though these factors may be found to explain a significant proportion of variance in achievement judgments, it would seem that other factors including "achievement behavior" must also play a role in such decisions.

Here again, it would appear reasonable that the search for differences underlying achievement behavior not be limited to the categories utilized in the classroom. In the foregoing discussion of dimensions of students' behavior, it is apparent that there are a number of hypotheses used by teachers in deciding how to allocate their time and energy in the classroom. For many of these hypotheses, there is accompanying in the literature research pertaining to the proof or disproof of such ideas. On many fronts there are heated issues as to the validity of assumptions about the skills, abilities and behavior of Black children (for detailed discussion of some of these issues see Section II, for example). Another set of hypotheses which have some bearing on the question of minority education have to do with assumptions about how children learn the material that the school sets out to teach.

Cole _et al's_ (1971 extensive work in Liberia has shown that tasks involving both performance on a cognitive task (e.g., recall) and the use of aids in performance (e.g., mnemonics) may vary with cultural background. In comparing kpelle and Euro-American, middle-class American subjects, Cole and his associates determined that under certain conditions American subjects were more likely to exhibit clustering in a free recall task than Kpelle subjects. Under a different set of conditions (e.g., using a chair to cue classes of the items, embedding the items in a story similar to Kpelle folk tales), they found that Kpelle subjects exhibited a comparable degree of clustering. They concluded that comparison of Kpelle subjects under circumstances in which Americans do well does not necessarily indicate their ability nor the type of conditions most advantageous for their education.*

Analogously, some researchers (Johnson _et al_, 1972; Gouldner, 1971; Durbin, 1971; Ward, 1969) have suggested that there is a correlation between culture and learning styles -- responsiveness to certain forms of training, reinforcement, types of problems and so forth. On the basis of a pilot study limited to only eight subjects, Johnson _et al_ (1972) tentatively concluded on the basis of observational data gathered in the homes and schools of urban, lower-income Black children, that for these children, there appered to be a marked discontinuity between the home and school in terms of how they were expected to behave in given situations, what behavior was valued in given situations, what sorts of problems they encountered and the systems of behavior management to which they were exposed. Based upon a more extensive sample of low-income, urban Black children (with children of Euro-American families as a control), in a similar study using observational techniques (namely, that conducted at Washington University, originally under the direction of Jules Henry; see Gouldner, 1971) and material from other investigators (primarily Ward, 1969) Durbin. (1971) concluded that not only is the dialect spoken in many low-income, Black homes not the one valued in school, but that the learning conditions are very different. He suggests that Black children whose families are not oriented to the middle-class, Euro-American style may learn to speak Ebonics through exposure to adults interacting in a variety of situations coupled with practice in speech production with their peer group and older siblings. The adults, he suggests, appear to believe that children can learn to speak without their direct teaching and that adults, in fact, do not encourage children to verbally interact with adults or to display verbal ability in front of adults. Euro-American, middle-class parents, on the other hand, interact extensively with their children on a verbal level. They verbally reward children and encourage children to display their linguistic ability. Other attitudes, however, result in the exclusion of children from a large number of situations in which adults normally interact. Additionally, the children do not become intensively involved with and therefore linguistically socialized by the peer group until puberty. In other words, the communication patterns through which Black, low-income children versus Euro-American, middle-class children acquire mastery of their respective linguistic codes, are different. Both patterns seem to result in the transmission of the respective dialects, however Durbin argues:

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* See Chapter IV.

> the public school teaching techniques are directly analogous to the middle-class American socialization process. The teacher acts and behaves as regards verbal behavior and learning exactly as a white, middle-class parent does as regards language learning.
>
> 1. Usually one female teacher presents the material to be learned.
> 2. The teacher's main technique for presentation is through verbal reward. If a child is verbally active as regards the lesson he is rewarded verbally and highly praised to other students, other teachers and to his parents. He goes on to become a good student since his "level" of motivation is quite high.
> 3. The content of the lesson is explained to children through language in great detail. The children are expected to disgorge the material in equally great detail. The greater the detail the higher the verbal rewards.
> 4. Patience, good manners and always keeping the children first in mind are the keynotes to successful teaching because children can only learn by careful, patient, and detailed communication directed at them (Durbin 1971:83).

In considering the effects of this difference in pattern, Durbin goes on to contend:

> According to my own observations, Black teachers often interacted with Black children as though the children's mothers had left them in the teachers' homes for a day. The following features were noted as outstanding:
>
> 1) One teacher presented the material to be learned.
> 2) Rather than verbal reward for satisfactory verbal answers to children, the more recurrent technique was verbal punishment - e.g., raising of the voice to a high pitch, continued shouted repetition of commands and questions - to indicate dissatisfaction with the children's verbal behavior. Lengthy, soft-spoken, polite explanations and kind verbal rewards were absent. Instead, threat, ridicule, and verbal force were predominant. These verbal activities are very similar to the verbal interaction pattern we find in a Black home. While the above can be compared to the Black home, the crucial part missing in this verbal interaction was a group of adults engaged in verbal interaction. That is, the situation is complete for learning except for a medium to present the content of the lesson (emphasis ours) (Durbin 1971:84).

While Durbin has obviously erred in giving the impression that the socialization patterns he describes are common to all Black families, he has put together the data from studies in diverse areas (one a Midwestern urban area and the other a rural Southern community), in a hypothesis which might suggest that some Black children will display behavior classified by teachers as negative (not speaking up, being too passive, etc.) as a result of different patterns of relations with adults. It may also suggest that achievement may be tied to the factor of cultural mismatch or conflict in teaching styles and reinforcement styles. In other words, besides obvious characteristics relating to the home (e.g., speaking Ebonics) which are reacted to negatively by the teacher and used as a basis for forming reduced expectations, plus the use of socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and sex characteristics, there may be more subtle connections between behaviors disliked by the teacher and the backgrounds of children of certain ethnic groups. That is, children who behave with the teacher as they have been taught to behave at home with an adult may impress the teacher negatively as she interprets the child's behavior on the basis of middle-class patterns and values

In the Gouldner article, the conclusions drawn from the study are that some cultural backgrounds better fit children to learn in the schools (as the schools are now constituted) than do other cultural backgrounds, but that the real difference comes from the correspondence between cultural background and the treatment the child receives in school. Thus it is not so much the fact of cultural differences per se, but rather how they are responded to by the teacher.

As with institutional adjustment, systematic research into the relationship between teacher decisions about achievement and cultural differences identified as such is practically nonexistent. The limited observational data and arguments as to possible relationships that do exist, however, suggest a research direction which as yet is not being pursued on a large scale. Again, for those concerned with minority education, it seems that this lead would be an important one to investigate more thoroughly.

The next section summarizes material relevant to another facet of teacher interpretation of behavior.

Interaction of Status Characteristics and Behavior

Aside from assumptions or beliefs about the behavior of individuals differing in sex, socioeconomic status, or ethnicity, there is also some indication that role expectations or norms held by the teacher affect teacher evaluation of behavior. In other words, it appears that teacher reaction to the same behavior may vary according to the student's sex, socioeconomic status or ethnicity.

The Feshbach (1969) study on teacher preference for elementary school pupils varying in personality characteristics (referred to above) used as mulus items, descriptions of two sets of four different personality clusters, identical except that in one set, boys' names were used, while in the other set, girls' names were used. In comparing teacher preferences for these descriptions, it was found that:

> For the rigid and dependent clusters, girls are rated more highly than boys. For the flexible and independent clusters, the boys obtain higher rankings than the girls. This pattern holds for all of the judgment dimensions. The expectation that sex-typed behaviors are more acceptable when displayed by thc appropriate sex is supported by these findings. While flexibility and independence are least valued by the student teachers, they are even less acceptable when displayed by girls. Conversely, rigidity and dependence are more highly valued in girls than in boys (Feshbach, 1969:81).

Of interest also is the comparison of intelligence estimates between the boys and the girls according to personality type. By mean ratings, the rank order was as follows:

TABLE VII: Rank Order of Teacher Ratings of Four Student Personality Types Divided by Sex on Six Attributes

Cluster Situation	Independent, Active Assertive		Dependent, Passive, Submissive		Flexible Nonconforming, Untidy		Rigid, Conforming, Orderly	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
Total	6	8	4	3	5	7	2	1
Popular	7	8	4	3	5	6	2	1
Generous	7	8	4	3	5	6	2	1
Prefer Child in Class	6	8	4	3	5	7	2	1
Intelligent	3	5	8	7	2	6	4	1
Grades	3	6	5	4	7	8	2	1

(Feshbach 1969:81)

A study by Long and Henderson (1971) reveals what may be an interaction between ethnicity and teacher perceptions of behavior. At the end of the first six weeks of school, teachers of some 188 first-graders (95 Black and 93 Euro-Americans randomly chosen within quotas) were asked to rate each child on twenty-four behavior scales. The ratings of the teachers (12 of whom were Euro-American and 15 of whom were Black) were factor analyzed. The ratings on these factors were correlated with an index of academic success derived from measures taken later in the year (one point for those not promoted, two points for those promoted but not scoring above chance levels on the reading test, and three points for those able to read). Low but significant loadings were found for the Black students on the factor "good workers," while for the Euro-American students, the factor was "leadership."

In interpreting this finding, Long and Henderson take account of the possible differences between teachers (most Black children were rated by Black teachers and most Euro-American children by Euro-American teachers) in their suggestion:

> Why academic progress is associated with a "worker" factor for the Black children and a "leadership" factor for the whites is not entirely clear. It is possible that this difference may be attributed to different values and different patterns of reinforcement present among the teachers and pupils of the two groups. It is also possible that different social expectancies have been associated with the contrasting positions of the two races [sic] in the rural South. Blacks as "workers" and whites as "leaders" would seem to be traditional roles in these communities. It is possible that these differential expectancies prevail even in first grade classrooms, with pupils who conform to them achieving more success in each case (Long and Henderson 1971: 367).

That objectives and criteria for different groups may vary is also a conclusion at which Leacock (1969) arrives on the basis of observational data collected from four schools having student populations which varied as to percentage of lower-income students and Black students. Her emphasis, however, is more upon differential objectives by socioeconomic status.

Another study (Denmark *et al*, 1967) of teacher ratings and self-concept correlations for Black and Euro-American students (see section on "Outcomes" below for a fuller description of the study) found that teacher ratings for Black students was inversely related to scores on a self-concept measure, whereas for Euro-American students the relationship was reversed. Euro-American students with higher self-concepts were more likely to be rated as having high verbal skills. The authors offer the following interpretation:

> Since the self-concept scale includes behaviors characterized as more potent and active, which are given the higher score. Negroes [sic] with a high self-concept, especially older males, on this scale may be viewed as too dominant by their teachers. The quiet, more passive Negro [sic] child may favorably influence his teacher's perception of him and therefore his rating. The latter may be viewed as more attentive, more willing to learn, etc., all in terms of a comparison level set for Negroes [sic] - especially Negro [sic] boys - in contrast to the one set for whites (Denmark _et al_ 1967:30).

Treatment. From the two preceding chapters, we have seen that students differently classified according to achievement are differently treated in class. Hoehn (1959), for example, found that in terms of quantity, low achievers receive more contacts than high achievers, while in terms of quality, teachers favor high achievers (see Chapter VII for a more detailed summary of Hoehn's study).

Probably the most graphic descriptions of treatment differentially distributed to "low" versus "high" acheivers comes from Rist and others who participated in the same project. Gouldner (1971) summarizes the findings* as:

> Once defined as doing poorly, a child received less attention and affection from the teacher, particiapted less in class activities, and subsequently failed to live up to the academic standard of the class. The poor record and teacher gossip preceded him into the next class and the next. The labels persisted because they became more and more real. The child believed them and teachers believed them. Failure for many becomes a certainty and the child is less and less responsive to school as the years go by, eventually becoming peripheral to the school scene entirely (Gouldner 1971:6-7).

One of the very few studies (Felsenthal, 1971, described more fully below) which has attempted to correlate teachers' use of praise and criticism (measured through an author-constructed Classroom Observation Record) with ratings of students on a single behavior adjective, found few significant correlations (there were significant correlations between use of criticism and the teacher's perception of the student as cooperative -.347, obedient -.298, and destructive +.342; these correlations were significant for girls only). The remaining insignificant correlations were, however, in the predicted direction, with positive correlations between use of praise and the more positive classroom behaviors, and negative correlations between use of praise and the more negative classroom behaviors. As Felsenthal (1971) was not concerned with the problem of explaining as much variance as possible in use of praise by behavior ratings, she did not continue her analysis to identifying trait clusters.

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* In the report quoted, a number of seeming discrepancies occur. For example, at one point all teachers observed were said to have developed a "track system while at a later point it is mentioned that one classroom was not so organized.

Other than the Felsenthal and Hoehn studies and possibly a few others, there appears to be a real scarcity of studies addressed to ascertaining the relationship between teacher perception of student behavior and teacher treatment.

Student Outcomes. The relationship between teacher ratings and student outcomes has been documented in a number of studies, ranging over a number of years. In 1949, Henig reported a coefficient of mean square contingency of .59 between teacher ratings (made three weeks after the opening of school) of the probability of their first-graders' success at reading and the grades children received at the end of the year. Teacher ratings were a slightly better predictor of the dependent variable--marks--than scores on the Lee-Clark Reading Readiness Test. Teacher ratings and scores on the test yielded a coefficient of .60. Measures were based on the ratings of ninety-eight children by an unstated number of teachers.

Orear (1951), reporting on results of her doctoral research, found that teacher perceptions of children's social maturity indicated by the teacher on the Munn Scale (composed of items on cooperation, originality, curiosity, neatness and orderliness, cheerfulness, kindness and sympathy, fair-play, and leadership) were significantly correlated with achievement and I.Q. The student sample was composed of 230 children entering first grade in the public schools of Bellflower, California. Student scores on the California Test of Mental Maturity (C.T.M.M.), Lee-Clark Reading Readiness Test (L.C.), and the Garvey Reading Test were obtained. The teacher's rating was directly correlated with mental age (C.T.M.M.) (+.328); with I.Q. (C.T.M.M.) (+.201); with Reading Readiness (L.C.) (+.417); and with Reading (Garvey) (+.418). Orear's work was based on the assumption that teacher judgments can be used as a valid measure of student development; thus she was not concerned with the characteristics of the teacher sample nor does she describe the student sample in terms of ethnicity or socioeconomic status. She also used as a measure of social maturity, responses from parents of sixty-five of these children on the Vineland Social Maturity Scale (which includes items on child's status in self-help, locomotion, occupation, communication, self-direction and socialization). In all cases except for the Garvey Reading Test, the scores on the Vineland Scale were slightly more strongly correlated with the dependent measures than scores on the Munn Scale. The two sets of "maturity" scores were significantly correlated (+.333).

Another study which indicates a significant correlation of teacher ratings of student social adjustment and achievement is a study reported upon by Sutton (1955). A total of 150 children (73 boys; 77 girls) attending kindergarten in Athens, Georgia, were rated by their six teachers on a social adjustment questionnaire. In January and May, the Metropolitan Readiness Tests (Form R) was administered to the children. The California Test of Mental

Maturity, Pre-Primary Series was also administered in the spring (April) of the same year. The product-moment correlations between social adjustment and total scores on the second administration of the Metropolitan Reading Tests showed a significant positive correlation for the group as a whole (+.36), for boys (+.28) and for girls (+.31). Similarly, teacher ratings on social adjustment and reading readiness scores on the second administration of the Metropolitan Readiness Tests were found to be correlated for the group (+.26), boys (+.61), and girls (+.35). The author did not describe the ethnic and socioeconomic status of the children, and since her use of the teacher judgments on items of social adjustment was assumed to be a measure of the child's adjustment, she neglected mention of when these ratings were made.

Davidson and Lang (1960) developed a measure of teacher perception of student (student estimate of teacher ratings of himself on an adjective check list, from which an Index of Favorability value was derived). After checking the instrument for reliability and validity, they administered it to fourth, fifth and sixth graders (89 boys and 114 girls in a New York City public school) who scored in the upper half of the grades on reading (as the measure required reading comprehension on the part of the subjects). The pupils came from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds. The teachers (N=10) also rated the children on the adjective check list so as to obtain a rating on the Index of Favorability; the teachers rated the students as to academic ability (relative to average); and teachers responded to the DeGroat and Thompson "Teacher Approval and Disapproval Scale" to assess students' ratings on desirability of classroom behavior. Tests for association found teacher favorability (as measured by student perception of teacher's ratings of the student) to be significantly related to teacher ratings of students' academic achievement (analysis of variance), desirable classroom behavior (analysis of variance--significant difference, however, only between the group lowest on behavior and each of the other groups), and self-perception (product moment correlation -.82). Some of the findings are summarized as follows:

1) Student self-ratings and ratings of teachers' feelings toward them were strongly correlated.

2) Children who were rated high on academic achievement tended to perceive their teachers' feeling toward them as positive.

3) Children who were rated as being disorderly, defiant, unfriendly, or troublesome, perceived their teachers' feeling toward them as being less favorable than the children who were rated as being eager, cooperative, assertive, and the like.

4) Girls perceive themselves to be more favorable rated than do boys. Teacher ratings of girls were higher than that of boys, but not significantly so.

5) Students lower in socioeconomic status felt themselves to be less favorably rated than did students higher in SES status.

6) An analysis of variance for achievement rating and socioeconomic status produced two significant factors. The authors suggest that social class position and achievement operate independently in affecting the way the child perceived his teachers' feelings.

Concerning the relationship between the child's perception of his teacher's feelings and achievement and social class position, the authors conclude:

> It is therefore likely that a lower class child, especially if he is not doing well in school, will have a negative perception of his teachers' feelings toward him. These negative perceptions will in turn tend to lower his efforts to achieve in school and/or increase the probability that he will misbehave. His poor school achievement will aggravate the negative attitudes of his teachers toward him, which in turn will affect his self-confidence, and so on (Davidson and Lang 1960:114).

Correlations between teacher ratings and student outcomes have not been found in every case. A study by Denmark et al (1967) of effects of integration upon verbal achievement of previously segregated Black children found that teacher ratings (on verbal, mathematics, social skills) were correlated with an intervening variable--student self-concept (as measured by a semi-projective test developed by Denmark)--and independent of achievement tests and vocabulary tests (as measured by the Wechsler vocabulary test and the Children's Embedded Figure Test). The study took place in a community in the greater New York area where there were some eighty-seven Black children in primary school, all of lower socioeconomic status (as determined by a scale developed by Martin Deutsch at the Institute of Developmental Studies). Sixty-three randomly drawn students from the same grades constituted a representative group of the Euro-American elementary school children for comparison. These children were primarily from upper-middle-class homes. For analysis of the effects on verbal ability scores, grade and ethnicity were held constant. Teacher ratings in 1965 on verbal skills were positively correlated with vocabulary scores for Blacks (+.189) in grades one and two, and for Euro-Americans (+.433) in grades three to five. They were negatively correlated with Euro-American scores (-.315) in grades one and two, and with Black scores (-.49) in grades three to five. Data from this study also indicates that though Euro-Americans in grades one to two tended to receive higher ratings on verbal skills after integration, Black students did not. For grades three to five, neither Euro-American nor Black students tended to be perceived as having higher verbal skills, though the percentage of Euro-Americans (25.0%) so perceived was greater than the percentage of Blacks (15.2%). For both sets of grades, about one-third of the Black students dropped to low ratings. Also, 42.9% of the Black students in grades three to five, who had been rated high in verbal skills before integration, were rated low in 1965. Only 7.1% of the Euro-Americans dropped from a high rating to a low one in 1965.

With respect to self-concept, for both grades one and two, and grades three to five, teachers were more likely to rate Black children with a low self-concept as high in verbal skills, while for Euro-Americans, the reverse was the case.

Felsenthal (1971) had a randomly chosen sample of twenty first-grade female teachers characterize each of their students according to an adjective check list. The adjectives were: eager, cooperative, obedient, helpful, defiant, hostile, destructive, and aggressive. The pupil sample consisted of 438 first graders attending twelve different schools representing a wide socioeconomic range. School selection methods were not described in the article. Scores from a reading readiness test administered at the end of first grade were correlated with teacher perception of classroom behavior for each child. Achievement was found to be directly correlated with positive classroom behavior (eagerness, cooperativeness, obedience, and helpfulness) and negatively correlated, though not significantly so, with negative classroom behavior (defiance, destructiveness, hostility, and aggression). The correlation values are included in the following table:

TABLE VIII: Correlations Between Teacher Ratings of Students on Given Behavior Categories and Select Student Achievement

Behavior Categories	Boys	Girls	Combined Groups
Eager	.388***	.227*	.336***
Co-operative	.192	.287**	.254**
Obedient	.284**	.252*	.308**
Helpful	.295**	.335***	.338***
Defiant	-.064	-.178	-.125
Destructive	-.107	-.175	-.135
Hostile	-.062	-.059	-.075
Aggressive	-.043	-.007	-.073

* p .05
** p .01
*** p .001

(Felsenthal 1971:8)

Though focused upon sex-linked teacher perceptions, Doyle et al (1971) also found in their study that teacher estimates of pupil ability are associated with pupil achievement when measured ability is controlled for. Their reasoning was that if teacher performance expectations are correlated with achievement, then the achievement of students who are overrated by the teacher relative to an independent measure of ability should be greater than that of those pupils whose estimated ability is less than their measured ability. The researchers collected data from eleven classrooms (number of children: 128 boys, 117 girls) in a suburban area. The correlation value obtained between the results on the Stanford Reading Achievement Test (Form W) given at the end of the year and the teacher estimate of cognitive ability collected two months after school began (before the Otis-Lennon Mental Ability Twst--Form J--was administered) was +.589. Analysis of covariance with measured I.Q. as a covariate, revealed a significant discrepancy effect (where discrepancy is the directional difference between the teacher's I.Q. estimate and the measured I.Q. score).

And finally, in the study by Long and Henderson (1971) described above, behavioral rating by teachers of first-graders and three measures of academic success were found to be significantly correlated:

TABLE IX: Correlations Between Teacher Ratings of Student Behavior and Measures of Academic Success

	Black Students (N=95)	White Students (N=93)
Promotion	.42	.14
Metropolitan Reading Readiness	.32	.47
Otis I.Q.	.36	.30

In summary, the reported research findings are that achievement (generally reading achievement) is related to teacher ratings on probability of reading success for first graders, teacher rating on social maturity, teacher ratings on social adjustment, teacher ratings on certain positive classroom behaviors, teacher estimates of pupil ability, teacher behavioral ratings, and teacher favorability (as measured by student perception of teacher feelings). I.Q. was found to be related to teacher ratings on social maturity and teacher behavioral ratings. The strength of the correlations ranged between .20 and

.60. Most of the student population, it appears, were non-Euro-Americans. For the two studies with Black populations, the results were not conclusive. The Long and Henderson (1971) study found a positive correlation between teacher ratings on behavioral characteristics, and promotion, reading readiness and I.Q. scores for a sample of Black students. Denmark et al (1967), however, for sample of low-income, urban Black children, found teacher ratings on verbal, math, and social skills to have a low positive correlation (+.189) with vocabulary scores for grades one and two, while for grades three through five, the correlation was negative(-.49).

With respect to self-concept, Davidson and Lang (1960) found perception of teacher feelings to be strongly correlated with self-perception (+.82). The Denmark et al (1967) study reported the finding that teachers' ratings on verbal skills were inversely correlated with Black students' self-concept, while for Euro-American students, the reverse was true.

In the two studies which included Black students, teacher perceptions were found to be correlated with academic success in the Long and Henderson (1971) study, while in Denmark et al, the results were similar for first and second graders, though the reverse was true for third through fifth graders. Though there appeared to be some effects on teacher ratings, possibly reflecting the integration of the school, it is quite possible that the relationship between teacher ratings and achievement may vary somewhat for Black versus white students. This is also the case for self-concept where the correlation for Black students was found to be the reverse for white students.

For the studies where separate analyses were done by sex, some variations in relationships were found. In the Sutton 1955 study, where the correlation between teacher rating of social adjustment and reading readiness score on the Metropolitan reading readiness test was +.61 for boys and +.35 for girls.

Similarly, differences for grade levels is also suggested. At this point, it appears that studies of the relationship between teacher ratings and student outcomes should control for (or consider as an intervening variable) ethnicity, sex, and grade level. Most of the studies to date appear to be non-cumulative and to lack a theoretical base for organizing research. And, as mentioned above, there is a striking absence of studies which test hypothesized relationships for Black children.

Summary

In the beginning of the Chapter, three questions were presented as the review framework:

1) Which aspects of student behavior (if any) do teachers cue upon in making evaluative decisions about their students?
2) How are these decisions communicated to the student?
3) What is the relationship between these decisions and student outcomes?

These questions were motivated by the intellectual framework upon which Section III of this paper is based.

In summarizing the research that has been reviewed, it should first be noted that student behavior as a source of information for teacher decisions has been researched only by a few persons having an intellectual framework similar to the one advanced in this paper. Instead, most of the researchers who have provided data relevant to either one or more of the above questions have been motivated by diverse interests. In other words, much of the research has been developed on the basis of different, and in some cases attenuated, theoretical orientations.

Most of the data on teacher perceptions of student behavior comes from one of three sources:

1) studies which use teacher perception (ratings) of student characteristics or ability as a measure of a student variable

2) observational studies of schools which rely heavily on an ethnographic-like approach

3) studies which use teacher ratings of student characteristics or ability as a means of ascertaining organization of teacher perceptions

In general, studies of the first types are useful in that they provide some indication of the strength of association between teacher perceptions and student outcomes. Because teacher perceptions are used as measures of a student variable for a variety of research problems, these studies for our purposes are non-cumulative. Because the set of teacher perceptions elicited from one study to the next tends to differ, replication of findings of relationships exists only in a general sense; most of the studies have found that the set of teacher perceptions elicited are significantly related to student outcomes. On the other hand, owing to dissimilarities between the studies in terms of sample characteristics, type of measure and design, it is not possible to compare subsets of teacher perceptions for explanatory power..

Some studies which utilize teacher ratings as a measure do, however, provide some basis for attention to variables which appear to intervene in the relationship between teacher perceptions and student outcomes. Sutton's (1955) findings, for example, suggest that the relationship may differ by sex of students; Denmark _et al_'s (1967) findings definitely suggest that student ethnicity and grade level as well as class composition by ethnicity (and possibly socioeconomic status) may be variables which affect the relationship.

Observational studies of an ethnographic nature such as those by Rist (1968, 1970, 1972a, and 1972b) and his associates, Gouldner (1971), Johnson _et al_ (1972), Rosenfeld (1971), and King (1967), and those in which observational data is coupled with participant description of the events being observed (such as that by Stebbins, 1970, and Ramirez and Taylor, 1967) provide a broad framework for identifying important problems, material for interpretation of correlational data, indications of student and teacher perceptions, and in the case of longitudinal studies, indications of the temporal and causal relationships between variables. The majority of these studies, however, as a result of their in-depth and/or comprehensive nature, are usually limited to a small number of cases and are usually not focused upon carefully operationalized variables. Thus, they are limited in their generalizability. Though they provide, in many cases, crucial background material, they must be followed by more systematic research.

The third category of studies which utilize teacher ratings as a means of determining organization of teacher perceptions is basically of two types: 1) those which utilize samples of child behavior as stimulus items, such as the videotape segments used by Williams and his associates or the descriptive paragraphs used by Feshbach (1969); and 2) those which utilize the teacher's students as stimulus items, such as the Long and Henderson study (1971) or the Felsenthal (1971) study. The former variety is useful in that dimensions of behavior can be isolated so that their relationship to teacher perception can be ascertained. These studies, however, have an as yet unknown relationship to the classroom setting as the manner in which teachers' perceptions develop over time is unknown. The findings of studies which use samples of behavior as stimulus items provide information on the formation of teacher perceptions that is perhaps limited to initial impressions. The latter set of studies in which teachers rate their students overcome this problem; however, in these studies, it is more difficult to identify the dimensions of behavior which affect the teachers' ratings. It might also be pointed out that in most of both types of study, insufficient attention is given to the limitations of the scales from which the factors are derived. Williams (1970), for example, in eliciting the statements underlying the scales from which was derived the two-factor model of "confidence - eagerness" and "ethnicity - non-standardness," focused the teachers' attention on the differences between the verbal behavior of middle-class and "disadvantaged" students. Though this is a reasonable procedure (as comparison between classes of objects is one of the conditions under which sets of features are relevant) and his technique of utilizing teacher statements as a basis for the scales is a methodological advance over similar studies, he does not address sufficiently the question of delimiting the classroom conditions under which such features might be important.

The existing research relevant to the topic of interest in this chapter, though fairly fragmentary and for the most part noncumulative, does provide indications that certain variables should either be controlled for or considered to be intervening in the relationship between teacher perceptions and student outcomes. One of the most important gaps in this literature, for our purposes, is the lack of data on minority, particularly low-income, urban Black students. Though the Long and Henderson (1971) study does support a contention that relationships similar to those found for white students between teacher ratings and achievement hold for Black students as well, the Denmark et al (1967) study does not. Additionally, the Denmark et al (1967) findings, as mentioned above, suggest that teacher ratings may be inversely correlated with Black students' self-concepts, and that the composition of the class as to ethnicity may be an important intervening variable in the relationship between teacher perceptions and achievement for Black students.

The Beilin (1959) and Denmark et al (1967) findings suggest that grade level may be related to teacher perceptions and thus the relationship between teacher ratings on certain student traits may be more-or-less related to student outcomes, depending on the grade level. The Feshbach (1969), Sutton (1955), and Davidson and Lang (1971) findings, among others, also support the notion that sex is an intervening variable in the relationship.

Aside from the lack of data on minority students, the remaining major research gaps are as follows:

1. There is a need for the utilization of a strong theoretical orientation which will serve to orient further research work. (The intellectual framework presented in Chaper VI provides a basis for solving this need. In addition, further attention should be addressed to the problems of identifying crucial teacher factors and/or treatment variables, and selecting measures of these variables).
2. There has been very little systematic research on the relationship between student behavior and teacher treatment.
3. Though some research has been done in identifying the factors or dimensions of organization of teacher perceptions, the findings are not conclusive. They have by-and-large not been replicated (except for the Williams' two-factor model) and the identification of different factors across studies has not been reconciled.
4. There has been very little attention to the development of teacher perceptions of a student over time; thus, it is difficult to assess the relative effects of various student characteristics (status characteristics, prior performance, and behavior) upon teacher perceptions.
5. Again, excepting the work of Williams and his associates, there has been practically no attempt to identify the features of behavior which are correlated with teacher perceptions or ratings of behavior.
6. Outcome variables have so far been limited to grades, promotion, achievement as measured by standardized tests, scores on tests of cognitive ability, and self-concept. With the exception of the few studies using self-concept as an outcome variable, behavioral and affective outcomes have been largely ignored. On the basis of longitudinal studies such as Rist's, it might be anticipated that the development of behavioral and affective patterns are an important variable affecting the student's subsequent success in later grades.
7. Research data on the impact of minority children's behavior upon teacher perceptions, as mentioned above, is almost nonexistent. The possible relationship (suggested by existing data) between cultural background or culture gap behavior and student outcomes as it is mediated by teacher perceptions has not been systematically researched.

CHAPTER X

Summary, Conclusions And Recommendations

Joan R. Bloom and Julie D. Stulac

Substantive Summary

The literature relating to the effects of social status, prior performance and behavioral information on student outcomes is massive and suggestive. Numerous studies have documented the greater-than-chance correlations between SES, sex and ethnicity on a variety of student outcomes. Abstracting these social status variables, the general trend is that high socioeconomic status youngsters tend to do better than low socioeconomic status students; girls do better than boys in the early years with the process reversed in the later years; Euro-Americans do better than do non-Euro-Americans on achievement variables. The consistency of findings is notable. Even though indices that have been used to measure SES and definitions of ethnicity have been subject to several variations, the studies seem to support one another on the whole. That these bio-socio-cultural variables (none of which can rationally be associated with intellect or achievement per se) operate in a powerful way to affect the learning environment of schools is inescapable.

Fewer studies have dealt either explicitly or implicitly with the intersection of two or more social status variables. Mercer (1971) intersected ethnicity (Black, Chicano) and socio-cultural orientation toward the Euro-American culture of the United States in her studies of I.Q. testing patterns. She divided her Black and Chicano populations along a five-point scale which was designed to account for socio-cultural proximity to the modal Euro-American population on which I.Q. tests are normed. She discovered that the greater the number of modal characteristics, the more closely the I.Q. averages matched those of the Euro-American population. The I.Q. averages of the Black and Chicano groups who shared all five modal characteristics were exactly the same as those of the Euro-American counterparts. Two related conclusions may be drawn from this study: 1) the I.Q. tests are Euro-American-centric, and 2) the effects of ethnicity fade with increasing cultural similarity. These findings lend support to the cultural gap hypothesis which asserts that differential educational outcomes are the product of consonance or dissonance of orientations or value systems between school, teacher and pupils.

Two studies have used a self-fulfilling prophecy explanation. Cohen and Roper (1972) isolated the concept of "race" and found that in inter-ethnic groups where ethnicity is the only distinguishing characteristic, it will serve to activate expectations and, across groups, determine power and prestige orders, with Euro-Americans being more talkative and influential. Subsequent studies demonstrate that expectations for Black performance can be manipulated by treating both Black and Euro-American subjects in such a way that equal status behavior will emerge across groups. Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) studied self-concept among both Black and Euro-American subjects in segregated and desegregated settings. They found that self-concept among Black children varied with respect to their reference group, the role of significant others and social context. They did not interpret their findings specifically in terms of expectations. It seems reasonable to infer that varying expectations for self will occur situationally and produce varying levels of self-esteem. Given the quantity of evidence considering individual characteristics, e.g., ethnicity and sex, and the consistency of the findings, continued research which does not consider individual factors in the context of structural variations does not appear fruitful.

Notably missing from this selective review are studies that report intra-ethnic differences. With the exception of Rist, who reported on one classroom, we have no studies reporting on variations with respect to Blacks. The notion of ethclass, which Billingsley (1968) defined as the intersection of socioeconomic status and ethnicity, could be used to investigate this area. In addition, the data on sex differences or similarities among Blacks is exceedingly limited. It would be unwise to develop intervention strategies for Blacks based on findings using Euro-American populations. Research in these two areas is needed.

The use of archival performance information, such as I.Q., achievement tests and grades, to make decisions regarding specific students has been investigated in the literature review. Experimental manipulations designed to tap the extent or variation of this use, or to document direct effects of its use, have yielded inconsistent results. It appears that teachers do not all value a given type of information equally.

One reason for the lack of clarity in the findings undoubtedly relates to the setting of the research. Mixed results from classroom studies in which information on performance has been manipulated may have resulted from competing information sources. Our model suggests three major sources of information and our review has noted several specific examples for each source. Experimental designs which are based on varying one small piece of information, e.g., I.Q. test scores, with no control on other sources, are bound to produce mixed results.

Despite these problems, four consequences of performance information were identified. Performance information affected: 1) amount of material taught (students with lesser ability were taught less of the same), 2) quality and quantity of teacher-initiated interaction (higher for able students), 3) grouping (typically assignments based on prior performance information), 4) product evaluation (students perceived as more competent received higher evaluations than did students perceived to be less able, for the same product).

Left unanswered by the review of the literature is whether the effect of teachers' decisions affects the child directly or indirectly. In our intellectual framework (see Chapter VI), three processes were discussed through which self-fulfilling prophecy took place. Two of these processes--the experimenter bias effect and the halo effect--were described as processes by which status, performance and behavioral information used by the teacher potentially had direct effects on children's achievement outcomes. Source theory was described as affecting the achievement of the student indirectly through the evaluations of the teacher. Rather than choosing between the theoretical processes, it seems more reasonable to suggest that either process might be important for conceptualizing a part of the problematic phenomenon - why the outcomes of schooling for the Black, low-income child are not comparable to those for the Euro-American child.

Another area of research appropriate for examination is the effects of grouping procedures on pupils' attitudes, self-concepts and other factors in their development. The Rist study, while certainly suggestive of the detrimental effects of grouping procedures on the children in the low groups, was not systematically studied or based on a large sample. The Schrank (1968; 1970) studies suggest that the labeling of the groups alone has a biasing effect on how the student is perceived and whether he will receive preferential treatment. The child placed in a "lower-labeled" ability group for any reason whatever is academically handicapped for as long as he remains in that group.

Four areas of behavior were reviewed in Chapter IX: trait ratings, verbal behavior, institutional adjustment behavior and achievement behavior. It was noted that clusters of behaviors correlated with educational outcomes. The studies largely relied on teacher perceptions of appropriate or inappropriate behavioral characteristics vis-a-vis a given group of students. Teachers were asked to rate their students or experimental subjects along the various dimensions and then correlations of these ratings were generated for different samples, e.g., Blacks and Euro-American. It is evident from the review that different behavioral sets are assumed on the basis of ethnicity for each of the dimensions reviewed.

Notably lacking with few exceptions are studies which rely on direct observational data. Because of this failure, it is impossible at this point to explain how student behavior is translated into educational outcomes. Using extant literature on behavioral variables as they relate to ethnicity, we can infer support for the cultural gap hypothesis. An equally reasonable inference is that the self-fulfilling prophecy is operant. If teachers differentially perceive and evaluate sets along the dimension of ethnicity, which, in turn, are associated with student outcomes, future research should attempt to explain this phenomenon. Rist, Stebbins and others suggest that behavior may cue expectations for performance. This idea needs systematic investigation. Although most of the studies relied on teacher perceptions, this has never been studied over time. It is not possible, therefore, to assess which behavior for which teachers are critical predictors of student success. There is evidence that perceptions are made very early in a teacher-student relationship; however, we do not know the conditions under which these perceptions are reinforced and/or extinguished.

It is clear that all these sources of information affect student outcome. At this point we do not know which sources for which teachers under which conditions produce a given student outcome.

Methodological Summary

The selection of an appropriate methodological approach is determined by the nature of the problem under consideration. In light of this premise, a critical summary evaluation of the methodological problems encountered in the literature review will be discussed. The reported studies will be summarized across the following dimensions: use of theory, definitions of variables, level of analysis, design, and measurement.

Very few of the studies reported had any type of theoretical underpinnings; notable exceptions are provided by E. G. Cohen, Rosenberg and Simmons, and Entwisle and Webster. It is highly unlikely that atheoretical, inductive strategy used by most of the investigators will result in propositions useful to either researchers, developers or practitioners.

The variables in the studies were rarely theoretically defined. For example, it was often unclear, and certainly inconsistent, whether investigators studying Blacks and Euro-Americans, or ethnics or non-ethnics, were studying the same groups of people. In addition, the variables were usually operationally defined. Achievement was defined as a score on the reading and mathematics subtest of the Stanford Achievement Test, for example. Using an operational definition without a theoretical definition had at least two undesirable consequences: 1) lack of generalizability and 2) lack of comparability between studies.

Most of the studies we encountered were analyzed at the individual level (psychological) or the larger social level (sociological). Both kinds of studies focused on the educational outputs produced by individuals or groups. A failure common to both kinds of studies was the failure to explicate how inputs are translated into outputs. Most asserted that possession of a characteristic or set of characteristics was associated with a particular outcome. If it is desirable for the researcher to account for differential achievement of outcomes within a classroom, then it is necessary to conceptualize the problem in terms of the individual situated within a social context.

Correlational studies which report associations between two or more variables are useful in describing territories; they do not, however, provide practitioners with any guidelines for identifying specifically what recommendations should be made for whom. Causal linkages are more helpful as they suggest what should be changed for whom. In order to determine causal linkages, either experimental studies or causal models are necessary. Unfortunately, even though causality is specified, useful propositions are not always a natural consequence. Unless conditions are specified, we may know what to do, and whom to do it for, but we will never know when to do it.

Previously, problems of design were discussed in some depth (see Chapter VIII). One of the major problems discussed was the lack of balance in design. When investigating a phenomenon in the classroom, problems of attrition in the sample become an important concern as well. Based on the knowledge of the differential effects of achievement for girls and boys, for example, it is important to have a similar number of children of each sex for each classroom in the sample. For each additional variable that must be analyzed separately, balance of the other variables must also be considered.

Outcomes based on standardized achievement tests or I.Q. tests were shown to be insensitive for specified subgroups. These measures are standardized on Euro-American middle-class populations. As the studies by Jane Mercer have shown, the further the structure and attitudes embedded in Euro-American schools deviate from the norms of the non-Euro-American cultures, the less comparable the results from one group to another (Mercer, 1971). Therefore, the accuracy of the conclusions drawn from studies of the non middle-class, non-Euro-American child and the comparability of the results from one study to another are open to question. Another problem relating to the use of standardized I.Q. or achievement tests for very young children was raised by Fielder, Cohen and Feeney (1971). In their attempt to replicate the findings from the Rosenthal-Jacobsen study, they became acutely aware of problems associated with testing first-graders. Problems of attention span as well as staying in one's own seat for long periods of time were reported. How greatly this affected the test scores used on pre-test and post-test measures is unknown. When dealing with such young children, the time required to use a particular measure acts as one guide in the selection of appropriate measures of the included variables.

Classroom interaction studies that go beyond teacher talk and student talk suggest a potential strategy for developing more powerful explanations. For instance, the studies by Claiborn; Good; and Brophy and Good provide useful information as to how expectations for success may be mediated by the teacher. However, asking the teachers to provide predictions of their students' performances by the end of the year, as Dusek did, or asking them to rank the students according to "achievement" as the aforementioned studies did, may actually introduce a bias into the investigation. It is therefore recommended that researchers in the future develop methods which will enable them to assess children and select their sample independently of the teacher. Rankings by the teacher for the selected sample can still be collected at the end of the investigation. In this way, the rankings will corroborate the results, rather than bias them.

In summary, deficiencies in most of the studies reviewed, arising from lack of clearly conceptualized theoretical framework or a body of systematic research, preclude the development of intervention strategies at this time.

The bibliography which follows includes citations for all of the material that precedes it and material that may be found in Appendix I.

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APPENDIX I

Position Paper Developmental Strategy

Kabby Mitchell, Jr.

Introduction

During the past fifty years, there has been an increasing concern about the quality of published educational research (Bartos, 1969). These concerns roughly fall into two major areas:

1. The quality of published educational research in general, and
2. The assessment of published educational research articles and the development of published checklists for assessment of published educational research.

In this chapter we indicate some problem areas associated with, and methods used to assess, published educational research. We then detail the developmental strategy.

Quality. With respect to the quality of published educational research, Scriven (1960) suggests that the quality of most of the published educational research is not worthy of being reported. Wandt (1967) suggests that from 1962 to 1966, no significant change had occurred in the quality of published educational research. Writing about the problem, Travers states that:

> Those who participated in the first handbook would never have guessed that, a decade later, authors of the second handbook would be having even greater difficulty in finding significant research to report than did their predecessors (1973, pp. vii-viii).

Strauss (1969) indicates four reasons for the poor quality of published educational research: 1) educators have been trained not to question anything in print, 2) research in education involves a large number of variables with only a few that can be isolated, regulated or controlled, 3) professors of education generally have too many courses to teach and 4) journal editors have not demanded high quality research as a requisite for publication. Clifford (1973) presents additional reasons. They are as follows: 1) findings are inconclusive or inconsistent, 2) scientific replication standards are not met, 3) graduate students contribute a large amount of the research, and 4) members of a major educational research organization report research is one of their lesser activities.

Clifford (1973) also provides an excellent overview of the quantity, quality, and impact of research in teaching subject areas. She presents studies which show that the majority of the educational researchers on the average publish once and the quality of published research is of poor quality. She concluded, however, that:

> History shows that research need not be without deficiencies or be sophisticated in design and execution--even by the standards of its own time--to have discernible impact (Clifford, 1973).

In 1973, a review of the assessment of educational research literature was published in the second handbook of Research on Teaching (Travers, 1973; Clifford, 1973). In compiling the handbook, experts in the different problem areas were asked to write chapters. To illustrate one of the problems encountered, Travers states that:

> A majority of the authors, after they had completed a review of the relevant literature, expressed disappointment about the lack of substantive research in the area in which they had agreed to write a chapter. In many cases, after reviewing the literature, the author made the decision that the material was such that he could not write a chapter bringing the findings together--the complaint being that the research consisted of a patchwork of unrelated items that neither fitted together nor yielded a useful set of generalizations (1973;vii).

Another problem encountered by the handbook authors as stated was:

> Although there has certainly been an improvement in the statistical design of studies over the last decade, a corresponding improvement in conceptual design is often not apparent. Of what avail is it to apply excellent statistical design to the execution of poorly conceived research? Perhaps the emphasis on statistical design in graduate training programs in education needs to be balanced by an effort to train students in the knowledge acquired in the behavioral sciences on conceptualizing problems (Travers, 1973;vii).

One could then conclude that a large body of the published educational research literature is of "poor" quality and there is a growing concern about this problem.

Solutions. In an attempt to correct the problem of poor quality in the educational research literature, checklists for assessing published research were developed. Bartos (1969) presents an excellent review of thirty-eight instruments developed between 1922 and 1969 to assess the adequacy of reported research. As an indicator of interest in the area of assessment of published research, Bartos states that:

> Chronologically, output in this area followed an interesting pattern from 19 2 to 1967. In the 30 years from 1922-52 only six instruments were developed. This was followed by double that (or twelve) in the next 10 years, 1952-1962. This total of 18 instruments in 40 years can now be compared with 20 developed in the next five years alone. At this rate, it seems reasonable, and frightening, to estimate that by 1970, 20 or more instrument development efforts will have required the energy of educational researchers (1969; 2).

Most of the assessment of reported educational literature can be divided into articles, checklists and rating instruments (Bartos, 1969). Articles are explanatory in nature and include guidelines in the body of the text. Checklists are columns of questions and one must determine whether a set of questions applies to a particular report. Rating instruments include scales upon which one locates the answers to a number of questions.

Fox (1958), a noted advocate of the "article" approach, lists seven criteria that in his judgment should be considered before an evaluation is made. They are:

1. purpose of the research
2. research procedures
3. research design
4. limitations of the design
5. analysis of the data
6. conclusions
7. experience of the investigator

Several others, (Perdew, 1950; Spence, 1964; Gephart, 1964; Hodges, 1967 and Roberts, 1969), have used the article approach.

Others, (Gibboney, 1963; Symonds, 1956; Suydam, 1968; and Kohr and Suydam, 1970), provide examples of the checklist and instrument approaches, respectively.

A unique approach to data, developed by Smith (1961) and labeled by Bartos (1969) as the "checkstrument," first requires the assessment of inadequacies. The second step necessitates the application of a five-item code ranging from "inapplicability of the inadequacy" to "its presence is a serious flaw." Then, utilizing examples or criteria provided by Smith (1961), the user answers most of the fifty-two questions on the instrument. Finally, an overall evaluation questions is postulated.

A "decision tree" approach is recommended by Stephens (1967), who draws an explicit flow chart and unifies his checklist. He emphasizes outcome rather than procedure and methodology. This change in emphasis makes his approach different from that of his colleagues.

In the last five years, two tested instruments for assessing experimental (Suydam, 1968, pp. 200-201) and survey (Kohr and Suydam 1970, p. 79) reported educational research have been developed. With respect to experimental educational research reports, Suydam (1968) states:

> An Instrument for Evaluating Experimental Research Reports was developed after synthesis of the suggestions of experts. In two studies of reliability with articles from the field of elementary mathematics education and raters from that field and from educational psychology, coefficients of interrater agreement of .91 and .94 resulted, while .77 and .58 were the corresponding coefficients of inter-class reliability (1968:200).

In describing the survey research instrument Kohr and Suydam state that:

> An Instrument for Evaluating Survey Research Reports was developed after synthesis of the suggestions of experts. A reliability study was conducted with articles from the field of elementary school mathematics education and raters from that field as well as from educational psychology and members of a research organization. Estimates of interrater agreement ranged from .90 to.95, while estimates of reliability for a single rater ranged from .34 to .86 for these judges Kohr and Suydam (1970:78).

Both developers indicate that this instrument may also be used in planning and developing research studies. For our purposes, the nine key questions embedded in these instruments were transformed into criteria which we used to assess pertinent educational research as defined by our larger and delimited problem areas. This transformation is expanded upon below.

Position Paper Development Strategy. In the development of the position paper, a modified version of the research and development strategy which has been adopted by the Far West Laboratory was utilized (see Table IV). Four major decisions are included in the strategy. The first important decision arose at Step A, 2, when the outline of the proposed position paper was reviewed and accepted as meriting preliminary development. The primary criteria applied at this step were the extent to which the paper relied on previous research, as compared with the intuition of staff, and the extent to which the concepts or skills included in the position paper could be defined.

At the end of the preliminary test (Step C, 5) a second decision was made. Based upon the reactions of the panel, a judgment was made regarding the relevance of the position paper. The response was generally positive, and the paper was then moved to further revision in preparation for a main test. Since the bulk of the feedback was obtained during the main test, the completion of this step (E, 8) served as a third decision point. If the Advisory Panel found the paper inadequate, it would either have been dropped or undergone revision, and recycled through the main test stage. Again the feedback was generally positive and the paper was revised.

The final decision to release this paper will be made at the end of the operational test (Step G, 12) before work begins on the final revision. The main purpose of the operational test will be to determine whether the paper can be used effectively when Laboratory personnel are not available to defend it. Within this program, these four decision points served as development milestones. The steps in this strategy are listed in Table IV.

Preliminary Outline

Information Collection and Organization. In collecting and organizing information, the program staff followed accepted procedures for conducting literature reviews and analyses. Emphasis was placed on obtaining information through techniques such as:

1. computerized retrospective searches
2. manual retrospective and current awareness searches
3. consulting primary and secondary information sources

The program staff developed procedures for eliciting information relatively systematically.

While the sources of information are important, the manner in which this information was treated, collected and organized is equally important. We sought to avoid conventional conclusions that may not have been warranted. In other words, it is important that available information was analyzed from the point of view of its implications for low-income, urban Black children. In

TABLE X: THE STEPS IN THE POSITION PAPER STRATEGY

A. Develop preliminary outline of position paper

1. Review literature.
2. Prepare outline of paper including statement of objectives.

B. Develop preliminary form of position paper

3. Prepare draft.

C. Conduct preliminary test

4. Conduct preliminary test using five (5) advisory panel reviewers.
5. Evaluate results of test.

D. Produce main position paper revision

6. Revise paper.

E. Conduct main test

7. Conduct test using eight (8) reviewers.
8. Evaluate main test results to determine if paper meets objectives.

F. Produce operational position paper revision

9. Revise paper for operational test.
10. Prepare complete paper including all information needed for use of the paper.

G. Conduct operational test using NIE review panel

11. Conduct operational test.
12. Evaluate operational test results.

H. Produce final position paper revisions

13. Make final revisions in the paper.

I. Prepare final report

14. Prepare and distribute final draft of paper.

J. Dissemination and implementation

15. Distribute paper for general use.

some instances, this stance differed among some of the people who collected and organized the information. Two main reasons for these differences were that the staff was multi-ethnic and multi-disciplinary.

Lack of time precluded the conducting a large-scale systematic research effort that ideally should be the basis for development work. However, much development work in any program is based on "expert" judgment which derives from less than desirable amounts of research-based data. The foci of this project were such that frequently there was virtually no information base of expert judgment. Thus, the generation of at least a minimum amount of basic information was required to test, at a gross level, hypotheses underlying developmental issues. Future small-scale studies will permit such needed information to be generated quickly at a relatively low cost.

Goals, Objectives, and Constraints. The goals of the position paper were three:

1. To clarify a set of complex problems associated with interactions of low-income, urban Black children and their teachers.
2. To expose the reader to reported literature on how performance information on low-income, urban Black children biases teachers during the early school years.
3. To identify and document the maximum number of alternative areas for potential educational research and development.

To accomplish our goals we generated five objectives:

1. To develop the preliminary form of the position paper.
    a. To define sub-areas and boundaries within our larger and delimited problem areas;
    b. To identify and document the literature pertaining to the assessment of published educational research:

c. To develop a method to assess the literature in the larger and delimited problem areas:

d. To identify, assess, and document pertinent research in the larger and delimited problem areas:

e. To identify and document areas where some or no published research has been done in the delimited problem areas:

f. To assess whether or not the selected document's research findings were satisfactory or unsatisfactory:

g. To assess whether or not the selected pertinent document's research results are inconsistent or deficient:

h. To maximize the identification, retrieval and analysis of greatest number of pertinent documents:

i. To complete development of a preliminary form of the position paper:

2. To conduct a preliminary test of the position paper, evaluate results of the test and make necessary revisions of the paper.
3. To conduct a main test of the position paper, evaluate results of the test and make necessary revisions of the paper.
4. To conduct an operational test of the position paper, evaluate results of the test and make necessary revisions of the paper.
5. To disseminate the paper in such a way as to maximize its use.

In accomplishing the above ojectives, we were cognizant of four major constraints. They were:

1. the amount of resources available
2. the time-frame of the given task
3. the primary and secondary document resources available
4. the boundaries of the larger and delimited problem areas

A substantial portion of our budget was used to phase out Division IV work which was in progress during fiscal year 1972, before work could begin on the position paper. An educational research-oriented staff was then recruited to supplant the development-oriented staff. Because of the phase-in and phase-out of activities in Division IV, the time-frame for beginning and completion of the position paper was shortened.

Document Assessment Criteria. Nine criteria were used to assess the quality of each selected pertinent educational research document. These criteria were similar to those suggested by Suydam (1968), who reported six different instruments and eighteen lists of suggestions for assessing reported educational research (see our discussion on page iv of these criteria). Suydam discerned that "nine points were found consistently repeated ...," and used these points (questions) as major areas for assessing the quality of reported research from "poor" to "excellent" on a scale of five. These nine questions were modified and used as our criteria for assessing the quality of selected research.

These criteria were:

1. the significance of the problem
2. the definition of the problem
3. the adequacy of the experimental design
4. the adequacy of the control of variables
5. the appropriateness of sample selections
6. the validity and reliability of the measuring instruments or observational techniques
7. the validity of data analysis techniques
8. the appropriateness of interpretations and generalizations from data
9. the adequacy of the research

The quality of a given research study was judged subjectively by one or more staff members.

Paradigm for Selected Research Assessment. To accomplish our goal, it was necessary to develop a paradigm to identify areas of the larger and delimited problem areas and for classifying pertinent documents. The pertinent documents were classified into two research areas, satisfactory and unsatisfactory. The unsatisfactory research was further dichotomized into deficient and inconsistent research. If a study was found lacking by any one or more of the nine document assessment criteria, it was classified as unsatisfactory and deficient. If the findings reported in a given research study were in conflict with findings reported in other research studies or the given study was uninterpretable, then the study was classified as unsatisfactory and inconsistent. If a given research study met the nine document assessement criteria, the study was classified as satisfactory. The paradigm used is presented in Figure 5.

Figure 5: *Paradigm for Selected Published Research Assessment*

RESEARCH ASSESSMENT		
SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	
	DEFICIENT	INCONSISTENT

Position Paper Developmental Strategies. Thus far in this section we have reviewed the assessment of reported educational research; presented the position paper strategy, goals, objectives, constraints, and document assessment criteria; and presented a paradigm for assessment of selected documents. Next we present five alternative approaches to development that were considered and the selected approach. Claims made for the paper are then stated. Stages associated with the operational test through dissemination strategy are not treated here.

Five different approaches were assessed in terms of our goals, objectives and constraints. The first approach that was considered, Strategy A, had four main phases:

1. definition of the problem
2. review of the literature within the problem area
3. stating the Laboratory's position with regard to the problem
4. presenting the recommendations

By this approach, Phases 1 and 2 constitute a situation review. Phase 3 would involve stating the laboratory position with respect to the outcomes of the review. This would be followed by a set of recommendations which in the judgment of the laboratory would facilitate transformation of the situation arrived at in Phases 1 and 2 to the situation desired as stated in Phase 3.

Approach A was attractive because it was a straightforward approach to development. Sufficient model position papers for which this approach has been utilized were available. The paper could have been written using this approach with little or no interference from or contact with persons outside of the laboratory. On the other hand, the approach did not allow for approaching a problem that was not as well defined as problems about which other position papers had been written, i.e., questioning strategies, and specific approaches to reading. Approach A assumed that our problem could be approached linearly.

The approach further assumed a high positive correlation between perceptions that one would encounter in the literature and among various stakeholders in the school community. The latter assumption was of specific concern, since members of the Black community in general and of the low-income, urban Black community specifically rarely have access to those circles in which educational policy is formulated, research is designed, carried out, and interpreted, and decisions are made with respect to whom and what shall be published in the various journals.

Given these concerns, Approach A was modified to the extent that a fifth phase was interpolated. That phase involved the elicitation of field perceptions of stakeholders. The modified approach was known Approach B. While Approach B did compensate for some of the biases that we have come to know to exist in the literature, and additionally, retained all of the positive attributes of Approach A, we remained concerned about the weaknesses that we perceived in Approach A.

We were not fully convinced that our problem was such that it could legitimately be approached linearly. Nor were we convinced that our problem was so well defined Approach A or B was appropriate. Furthermore, in thinking through processes for collecting field perceptions, we became convinced that the data that would result from such an effort would be of little value unless a complicated procedure was used which would involve, among other things, sampling, instrumentation, training of interviewers, interviewing, and data analysis. Such a procedure, when placed in the context of our time and resource constraints, was clearly not feasible.

This being the case, we then turned our attention to a second modification of Approach A to Approach C. In this third considered approach, we examined the advisability of supplanting Phase 2 of Approach A with a propositional review. Such a review, we reasoned, would have the advantages of evaluating propositions found in studies--thus to some extent reducing the probability that researchers bias would creep into the work, in that the focus would be on propositions and the nature of the studies in which they were embedded, as opposed to results or interpretations of results. Approach C also had the advantage of permitting the possibility of, but not limiting ourselves to, a linear approach if such an approach was warranted. That is, our approach to the literature could then be determined by the directions that the propositions tended to indicate. Additionally, Approach C reduced our concern about the definitiveness of our problem because the approach would result in an assessment in terms of gaps, conflict, confusion, and solid aspects of the knowledge base.

To test the feasibility of Approach C, propositions in two studies were assessed. We found that while the propositional review was attractive in theory, it presented the problem of determining the level at which a proposition in a given study should be evaluated. It goes without saying that literally volumes could be written on conceptual and methodological domains of any given study, or the same study could be reviewed with a checklist. Further, the number of studies that could be reviewed was a function of the level of analysis that was elected. We judged, then, that while Approach C did solve a set of problems, it created more complex problems. Therefore, Strategy C was abandoned. Having done this, we sought an approach which included an alternative to Phase 2 of Approach A, which we came to see as the critical weakness in that approach. That is, we did not begin to seek an alternative to the propositional review, but rather an approach to the literature that was manageable from a discovery perspective, sensitive to researcher bias and the nature of the knowledge base. In our discussion of this problem we arrived at the conclusion that this could be done by asking the following set of questions of literature that was associated with our problem areas. This approach was known as Approach D. The questions follows:

1. Is the state-of-the-art in this area essentially polemical?
2. Have the terms and concept labels been adequately defined?
3. Are the concepts measurable?
4. Has theory been developed?
5. Has the theory been tested?
6. Has development been initiated?

The feasibility of Approach D was tested by assessing a set of studies. We found that while Approach D was superior to previous approaches, material yielded by this approach was in need of context. Accordingly, we elected to modify Approach D by supplanting Phase 1 of Approach A with a much more extensive definition of the problem--thereby providing Phase 2 of Approach A with sufficient context. This approach was known as Approach E and was the approach utilized in the development of this position paper.

Preliminary Draft. After a tentative review of pertinent reported literature, the goals, objectives and constraints of the position paper were developed. A tentative outline of the paper was drafted. Using the outline, selected ideas were generated by the staff. These ideas were then given priorities and the "best" ones were selected and included in the outline. As this stage, a decision was made to test the prototype position paper.

Preliminary Test. To test the prototype position paper five, "experts" (advisory panel members) were convened. Overall the panel indicated favorable responses to the prototype paper. Several suggestions were noted and evalu The suggestions were then reviewed and selectively incorporated into the pa,

Main Position Paper Test. The position paper was again tested by a selected sample of the potential target audience. Those selected were eight advisory panel members which met for two days. The panel suggested ways in which the position paper might be improved. Additionally, the paper was assessed in terms of the claims that are discussed below.

Claims. The position paper is intended primarily for educational decision-makers, researchers and developers. The paper was developed to inform that audience about whether or not research has been done in the larger and/or delimited problem area. It was assumed that if one considered the larger problem area as subsets of more specific problems, one could identify areas for examination. In instances where no research has been done, this is reported in the paper. Conversely, in the case where some research has been done, we have indicated whether it was satisfactory or unsatisfactory, and if conflicting results were reported. The position paper reviews the literature pertinent to our delimited problem with particular emphasis on the behavior of teachers of low-income, urban Black students in grades K-3.

We suggest that the paper be judged against the following criteria.

The position paper:

1. informs readers of what research has and has not been done in the delimited problem area;
2. suggests theoretical strategies and concepts to draw upon in conceptualizing problems for research, in order to maximize verification of hypotheses;

3. serves as a strong motivation to (or as a guide for) serious scholars, prospective educators, and graduate students in related fields--i.e. cultural anthropology [illegible]munication sciences, urban ethnography, and sociolinguistics--to [illegible]p further models as well as empirically based problem-solving tools and educational strategies aimed at tackling the problems effectively;
4. clarifies a set of complex problems associated with interaction between low-income, urban Black students and their teachers;
5. exposes readers to the assessment of educational research;
6. presents literature pertaining to the assessment of published educational research;
7. presents a method for the assessment of the reported literature in the delimited problem area;
8. classifies satisfactory and unsatisfactory published educational research that has been reported; and
9. identifies published educational research that was classified unsatisfactory as inconsistent or deficient.

APPENDIX II

CAPSULE RESUMES

RALPH F. BAKER, M. A., is presently the Director of Operations, Far West Laboratory School. Formerly, Mr. Baker directed the Parent/Child Dissemination Information/Utilization Division for Far West Laboratories. He was formerly the Director of Pre-School Programs in Early Childhood Education, Division III, and the Director of System Administration, also at the Laboratory. Prior to that, Mr. Baker was a Curriculum Consultant for the Chicago Board of Education; an Adult Education teacher; an Elementary School principal; and a college instructor.

CAROLYN FITCHETT BINS, M. A. and Ph. D. candidate in Sociolinguistics at Georgetown University, is consultant to Division IV of the Far West Laboratories for Educational Research and Development. Formerly, she was a Senior Program Associate in English for the Institute for Services to Education, in Newton, Massachusetts, and Washington, D. C.; an English Curriculum Specialist for the Upward Bound Program for Pre-College Centers at Educational Services, Inc., Newton, Massachusetts; Creative Dramatics Instructor at Hull House, Chicago, Illinois; and a Teacher of English and Speech, Eastern High School, Washington, D. C.

JOAN RUBY BLOOM, Ph. D., M. A., M. S., is a Program Associate, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. Formerly, Dr. Bloom was a Consultant to the Stanford University Medical School and Department of Sociology; Consultant for the Palo Alto Unified School District; Consultant to the Bi-Lingual Childrens' Television in Oakland; and a Teaching Fellow at Stanford University. Currently she is a Postdoctoral Fellow at Stanford University.

DOROTHY C. CLEMENT, Program Associate, Division IV, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, has an M. A. in Anthropology and is presently completing her doctoral dissertation for a degree in Anthropology from the University of California, Irvine. Her prior positions include Research Associate, Policy Research and Planning Group, Stefflre Associates; Consultant to the Multi-Ethnic Education Program for the Far West Laboratory; Consultant to the Oakland Public Schools; Continuing Consultant to the University of Connecticut, Equal Education Institute; Research Consultant to the Iowa State Department of Public Instruction; and Research Assistant to the Director, Ixil Ethnographic Research Project in Guatemala.

ELIZABETH G. COHEN, Ph. D., is a member of the Executive Panel of the Far West Laboratory for Research and Development, and a Member of the Division IV Advisory Panel. She is currently an Associate Professor at the School of Education and Department of Sociology, Stanford University, and the Director of the Environment for Teaching Program at the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching.

GEORGE PATTON COLBERT, J. D., is a Program Associate at Far West Research Laboratories, Division IV. Formerly, he was an Instructor, Summer Youth Project, City of San Francisco; Sociology Instructor, San Francisco State College; Teaching Assistant, San Francisco State College; Director of Potrero Hill Community Rights Program; and Law Clerk at the Community Law Firm and the San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, San Francisco, California.

JESSICA HENDERSON DANIELS, Ph. D., is presently an Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology in the School of Education, Boston College, Boston Massachusetts. She is a member of the Advisory Panel for Division IV, Far West Research Laboratories. Formerly, she taught at the Universities of Oregon and Illinois where she was the Administrative Director of a Follow Through model. The model was associated with twenty school districts throughout the United States. Additionally, Dr. Daniels has been a preschool and kindergarten teacher.

WILLIAM L. DUFF, JR., M. S., Ph. D., is an Associate Professor of Business Statistics at the University of Northern Colorado (UNC), and Director of the Bureau of Business and Public Research. Dr. Duff also serves on the Board of Directors, Economia de Aztlan Development Corporation, and is a member of the Greeley City Planning Commission. Prior to joining the staff at UNC, Dr. Duff held positions as Assistant to the Director, Recruiting and Government Programs, National Alliance of Businessmen; Research Associate, Institute for Development of Educational Activities; and Research Assistant, Economics Department, University of California at Los Angeles.

KAREN LENORE EDWARDS is currently a member of the Division IV Advisory Panel for Far West Research Laboratories. She was formerly a Psychology Instructor at Federal City College, Washington, D. C.; a Teaching Assistant at Howard University, Washington, D. C.; a Program Analyst in the Office of Child Development, H. E. W., Washington, D. C. She has had additional experience in workshop organization as the Senior Staff member of several experimental psychology workshops for undergraduate students. Miss Edwards is a candidate for the Ph. D. degree at the University of Ohio.

STEPHANIE FEENEY, Ph. D., a member of Division IV Advisory Panel, is currently an Assistant Professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction and Director of Early Childhood Education, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. Formerly, Dr. Feeney was an Assistant Education Specialist, Project Head Start, Washington, D. C.; Researcher, Center for Research in Early Childhood Education, University of Hawaii, Assistant Regional Training Officer for Project Head Start, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California; Instructor, California State University, Hayward, California; Instructor, Sonoma State College, Sonoma, California; and Instructor, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California. She has also been a Social Worker in Middletown, Connecticut, and Los Angeles, California.

JAMES A. JOHNSON, JR. Ph.D., is an Associate Laboratory Director of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. Formerly, he was the Coordinator of Systems Development for Division III, Far West Laboratory; Program Representative for Division III, Far West Laboratory; Special Assistant to the Director of Head Start, Office of Economic Opportunity; Coordinator of Curriculum Development and Instruction, Teachers' Incorporated; and a Program Coordinator for the Community Participation Educational Program in New York City.

SANITA M. JOYNER, B. A., is an Editor for Division IV of the Far West Research Laboratories. She was formerly an Administrative Assistant to the President of a microelectronics Engineering Firm; a Writing Consultant for General Research Corporation in Virginia; a Writer and Researcher in the Day Care Program under a Michigan Board of Education; a Program Coordinator for the Office of Economic Opportunity, and a Writing Consultant for Essence Magazine, Incorporated in New York City.

JAMES B. MACDONALD, Ph.D., M. S., is currently a distinguished Professor of Education, University of North Carolina. Formerly, Dr. Macdonald was a Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee; Chairman, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, School of Education, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee; Director of Doctoral Studies, School of Education, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee; Visiting Professor, Goldsmith's College, Curriculum Laboratory, London (University of London); Professor, Department of Curriculum and Department of Educational Policy Studies, University of Wisconsin - Madison; Director of School Experimentation and Research, University of Wisconsin; Chairman of Elementary Education Area, University of Wisconsin; and Director of Doctoral Studies School of Education, University of Wisconsin.

KABBY MITCHELL, JR., M. S., is a Program Associate for Division IV, Far West Laboratory. As the former Director of Systems Planning at the Laboratory, he designed an alternative educational innovation dissemination/utilization model. Formerly, Mr. Mitchell was the Senior Consultant, Waymon and Associates; Systems Consultant to the Institute of Race and Community Relations, University of California at Berkeley; Research Assistant, University of California at Berkeley; Visiting Systems Analyst, Information Research Group, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, University of California at Berkeley; and a Technical Staff Member, Lovelace Foundation for Medical Education and Research.

GEORGE M. MURRAY, M. A., is currently a Program Associate in Division IV of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. He is also the Area Coordinator for the Education Finance and Governance Reform Project. Mr. Murray was formerly a Consultant to the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, HSMHA Division; Project Administrator, Charles R. Drew Health Center; Principal, Nairobi High School; Instructor, Nairobi College; Instructor, San Francisco State University. Mr Murray is a Ph. D. Candidate in the Politics and Economics of Education at Stanford University.

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JAMES P. SHAVER, Ed. D., A. M. T., is currently a Member of Executive Panel of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development; Member of the Steering Committee, National Council for the Social Studies Project to Analyze the National Assessment of Educational Progress Findings in Citizenship and Social Studies; External Auditor, Granite Values Project; Chairman, Granite Values Title III 1972 Site Visitation Team; Program Planning Committee for 1973, Division C, Learning and Instruction, of the American Educational Research Association; Member, Teacher Education Program Advisory Committee, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. Dr. Shaver is a Professor of Education and Chairman of the Bureau of Research Services at Utah State University.

LINDA A. SIKORSKI, Ph. D., M. A., is the Director of Research and Evaluation for the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. Dr. Sikorski was formerly a writer and editor for the Educational Resources Information Center at Stanford University; and Research Assistant at the Mental Research Institute in Menlo Park. Currently she is directing research and evaluation activities for the Utilization Division of Far West Laboratory; and participating in Division Planning and Management to develop strategies for the dissemination and utilization of products in educational research and development.

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JOSEPH L. WHITE, Ph. D., M. S. Currently, Dr. White is the Director of the Black Culture Program, Professor, Psychology, University of California, Irvine; Dean, Undergraduate Studies, Professor, Psychology, California State University at San Francisco; formerly Director, Educational Opportunities Program, and Associate Professor of Psychology, California State College at Long Beach; Counseling Psychologist, Associate Professor, Psychology, California State College at Long Beach; Instructor, Medical Psychology, School of Medicine, Washington University; Consultant, Institute of Training and Program Development; Consultant, Bayview Hunters Point Health Center; Assistant on Minorities, Chancellor of the California State Colleges.

DAVID L. WILLIAMS, JR., Ph. D., is currently serving as Assistant Professor of Elementary Education, History and Philosophy of Education, and the Institute of Ethnic Studies. Dr. Williams received his Doctor of Education Degree from the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Prior to pursuing his terminal degree, he served as Educational Program Specialist and Acting Chief of Technical Assistance for the National Follow Through Program, OE/HEW, Washington, D. C.; Equipment Specialist, Washington, D. C. Public Schools; Fifth Grade Coordinator, Morgan Community School, Washington, D. C.; and Sixth Grade Teacher, Washington, D. C. Public Schools. In addition, he has served extensively as a consultant to Head Start, Follow Through, and Parent Child Center Communities throughout the country.

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GERALD ZALTMAN, Ph. D., M. B. A. is currently a member of the Far West Research Laboratory Advisory Panel for Division IV. He is also a Montgomery Ward Professor of Behavioral Science; Associate Professor of Behavioral Science, Department of Marketing, Graduate School of Management, Northwestern University; formerly Assistant Professor of Behavioral Science, Northwestern University; Instructor, Department of Marketing, University of Alaska; now Director of Research, Graduate School of Management, Northwestern University; Project Director, Midwest Population Center; Faculty Associate, Center for the Interdisciplinary Study of Science and Technology. Dr. Zaltman was formerly the Project Director, Organization for Central American States; and an Advisor to the Ministry of Public Health, Costa Rica.

The FAR WEST LABORATORY FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT is a public non-profit organization located in the San Francisco Bay Area and supported in part by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Laboratory's mission is to carry out surveys, research, development, and demonstrations in education and to disseminate information derived from such activities. Programs conducted by the Laboratory will offer a clear and firm prospect of being implemented by schools and other educational agencies. Development of new materials and techniques, their evaluation in educational settings, and their demonstration - together with accompanying programs of teacher, and/or administrator, and/or parent education - will be the focus of the Laboratory's work. In the course of these efforts, the aim will be to assure that the evaluated outcomes of research and development are effectively presented to schools and other educational agencies.

Educational development is a new discipline. It involves, first, focusing on an important but specific area in need of improvement and then inventing, field testing, and validating a generally useful solution to that problem or need. The solution may be a new self-contained product or an alternative process or system to be used by educators, by students, by parents, or by all of them together.

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John K. Hemphill
Laboratory Director